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EVALUATION OF IBN MADA?'S CRITICISM OF THE ARAB GRAMMARIANS

The University of Michigan

Ph.D. 1985

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EVALUATION OF IBN MAḌĀ?'S
CRITICISM OF THE ARAB GRAMMARIANS

by
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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Near Eastern Studies)
in The University of Michigan
1985

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1985

For

My wife, Reema, for her love and faith,
my children, Aladean, Abdeljabbar, Rania, and Sajidah
for their understanding and cooperation,
my parents, relatives, and friends,
who have been waiting for our return for five years.
To all of them I dedicate this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Birzeit University, as well as to America-Mideast Educational and Training Services for granting me a scholarship during 1981-1985, without which I would not have been able to finish my study.

I am most deeply indebted to Professor Ernest N. McCarus, my advisor through my graduate program, and the chairman of my doctoral committee. His encouragement, wise guidance, suggestions, criticisms, and availability while on sabbatical, all played a major role in improving the present study in both content and form.

Thanks are due to the members of my doctoral committee, Professor James A. Bellamy and Professor Raji M. Rammuny of the Department of Near Eastern Studies for their valuable comments and suggestions. Professor Rammuny has given me a great deal of his time discussing the grammarians' efforts as compared with both al-Jurjānī and Ibn Maḍāʾī, and made his forthcoming papers available to me. My deep thanks to the other members of my doctoral committee, Professor John C. Catford and Professor Kenneth C. Hill of the Linguistics Department, who have also given freely of their time and have made many valuable suggestions. Professor Hill's comments have positively affected the direction of my conclusions. I would like to

sincerely thank all of the members of my doctoral committee for their time and knowledge.

In addition, I wish to express my appreciation to all faculty, staff, and students of both the Near Eastern Studies Department and the Linguistics Department for the thoughtful discussions which have helped me over the past five years.

Finally, I thank my wife and my four children for their patience, cooperation, and faith during the past five years.

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TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration used in the present study is that of the International Journal of the Middle East Studies, except for the Arabic letter ʿayn (ع) which is represented by "c" in this work.

<u>Arabic Letter</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>
ا	ā
آ	ʾ
ب	b
ت , ة	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ

ظ
ع
غ
ف
ق
ك
ل
م
ن
ه
و
ي
الـ

z
c
gh
f
q
k
l
m
n
h
w,ū
y,ī
al-

Short vowels: a, i, u

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will discuss the research problem, the present study, Ibn Maḍāʾ's life and works, and the review of literature.

I. The Problem

After the revelation of the Qurʾān and the spread of Islam, several religious, social, and linguistic factors¹ prompted a group of grammarians² to start thinking of standardizing the Arabic literary language by setting up its rules. Thus, the foundation phase,³ which started with the efforts of al-Duʿalī⁴ and his students, was a preface to the fruits to grow through the works of al-Khalīl⁵ (d. 177/794) and his disciple Sībawayhi⁶ (d. 188/805).

Sībawayhi wrote his remarkable book al-kitāb 'The Book' in which he set up the primary notions of Arabic grammatical rules and many of the principles⁷ of the study of Arabic grammar. After that, a group of grammarians⁸ in Baṣra followed Sībawayhi and adopted his basic principles and started illustrating his theoretical concepts and practicing his grammatical rules. Moreover, a group of grammarians⁹ in Kūfa which were led by al-Kisāʾī (d.

189/804) started to dispute points of grammar¹⁰ with the Baṣrans, which then caused both schools to try to unify and codify their invented rules and to present their arguments, proofs, and sources of the study of the Arabic language.¹¹

The grammarians studied some grammatical features like iʿrāb¹² 'case and mood inflection,' ʿamal¹³ 'regency,' iḍmār¹⁴ 'suppression,' ḥaḍhf¹⁴ 'deletion,' and mutaʿalliqāt¹⁵ 'suspensives.' To explain these phenomena, they adopted some theoretical concepts such as qiyās¹⁶ 'analogy,' taqdīr¹⁷ 'suppletive insertion,' taʿlīl¹⁸ 'the seeking of motives,' and ijmāʿ¹⁹ 'unanimous agreement.'

Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī (513 A.H. to 593 A.H./1118 A.D. to 1196 A.D.), who was of the Zāhirite²⁰ school, wrote a book entitled al-Radd ʿalā al-nuḥā 'Response to the Grammarians' in which he criticized some of the grammarians' concepts.²¹ He believed that the grammarians confused the principles of grammar on the one hand and the principles of fiqh²² 'jurisprudence' on the other. Thus, for Ibn Maḍāʾ, the contemporary grammatical system of his time had become blended with superfluous, unnecessary, and useless elements.²³

Accordingly, he wrote his book, Response to the Grammarians, with the following primary goals:²⁴

1. To get rid of the superfluous and useless elements in the grammar.

2. To simplify Arabic grammar.

3. To present grammar without regency and unconvincing assumptions.

4. To apply a surface structure approach to the study of Arabic grammar, in the fashion of the Ṣāḥirites.

To achieve his goals, Ibn Maḍāʾī first calls for the abolition of (1) the theory of the Ḥāmil 'regent' from the study of Arabic grammar; (2) the assuming of implicit and unnecessary words and regents; (3) the assuming of al-mutaḥalliqāt 'suspenders; (4) the assumption of al-damāʾir al-mustatira 'implicit/hidden pronouns'; (5) the unnecessary Ḥilāl 'reasons,' namely, the secondary and tertiary ones; and (6) all made-up examples which are just theoretical and are not used in reality by native speakers of Arabic.²⁵

Ibn Maḍāʾī applies his method to the following topics of Arabic grammar:

(1) al-tanāzuḥ fī al-Ḥamal 'conflict in respect to government'

(2) al-ishtighāl 'syntactic deflection'

(3) Ḥawāmil al-afḥāl al-mansūba 'regents of subjunctive verbs'

(4) al-damāʾir al-mustatira 'implicit/hidden pronouns'

II. The Present Study

Below I shall specify the goals, the importance, and the methodology of this study.

A. Aims and Goals of the Present Study

This study aims at the following goals:

1. Present and analyze the development of Arabic grammatical theory through its foundation phase and the establishment of the two major schools, namely those of Baṣra and Kūfa (See Chapter Two).

2. Analyze some primary concepts of Arabic grammar as adopted by the major schools, such as i^crāb 'case and mood inflections,' ʿamal 'regency,' tagdīr 'suppletive insertion,' ta^clīl 'rational justifications/reasons,' and the alike (Chapter Three).

3. Present and analyze Ibn Maḍāʾi's criticism of the Arab grammarians (Chapter Four).

4. State Ibn Maḍāʾi's method of studying the Arabic language without regency (Chapter Four, Part III).

5. Compare and contrast Ibn Maḍāʾi's ideas with those of the other Arab grammarians.

6. Examine the originality of Ibn Maḍāʾi's ideas and point out the positives of his ideas to the contribution of the study of the Arabic language (Chapter Five, Part V).

7. Codify Ibn Maḍā's theories into a unified system and apply that to certain aspects of Arabic grammar (Chapter Four, Part III and Chapter Five, Part III.A).

8. Evaluate Ibn Maḍā's method in the light of the surface structure approach, as well as that of the grammarians' in the light of dependency grammar (Chapter Four, Part IV).

9. State Ibn Maḍā's most important ideas in terms of descriptive grammar in contrast with the grammarians' prescriptive grammar (Chapter Five, Part V).

B. The Importance of This Study

The importance of the present study can be summarized as follows:

1. It will investigate in detail all ideas regarding the ambiguous phase of the foundation of the Arabic grammar before Sībawayhi.

2. This study will examine the sources on which the Arab grammarians depended to invent Arabic grammatical rules and will show how the invented rules sometimes prescriptively controlled the Arabic texts.

3. It will compare and contrast the Baṣrans' and the Kūfans' methodologies and will show how their principles and approaches, especially the Baṣrans', were affected by fiḥ 'jurisprudence,' ʿilm al-kalām 'scholastic theology,' and logic.

4. This study will examine the possibility of applying Ibn Maḍāʾ's approach, in contrast with the grammarians, to particular topics of Arabic grammar.

5. It will try to explain the grammarians' approach as well as Ibn Maḍāʾ's in the light of some modern western linguistic concepts. This may lead the investigator to suggest some particular further linguistic comparisons between the grammarians on one hand and the western linguistic schools on the other.

6. From Ibn Maḍāʾ's criticism and argumentation we can determine the course which his systematization of a new grammar would take:

- a. The new grammar must be simple and plain.
- b. It must be such that it will respect the reality of speech and convey the meaning of the text.
- c. The text comes first and then the rules (not vice versa).
- d. Anything that impairs linguistic reality by introducing an extra meaning in it must be strictly shunned.
- e. The devices of regent and of assuming implicit forms must be discarded.
- f. We must avoid secondary and tertiary reasons in explaining grammatical rules and features.
- g. In applying qiyās²⁶ 'analogy' we must disregard all made-up examples which are just theoretical and not used in reality by the native speakers of Arabic.

h. And, finally, the topics of Arabic grammar should be reorganized according to the function of the grammatical categories and not according to their Camal 'regency.'

C. Methodology and Procedures of the Research

To achieve the aims and the goals of the present study, I will do the following:

1. Sketch the development of Arabic grammar and grammatical concepts based on an extensive review of the writings of the Baṣrans and the Kūfians, as well as modern western and Arab analytical studies.

2. I will utilize al-Bannā's edition of Ibn Maḍā's book primarily determine Ibn Maḍā's ideas and criticism of the Arab grammarians. In presenting both the grammarians' and Ibn Maḍā's views, I will try to explain every grammatical term with ample examples from classical Arabic and from modern standard Arabic as well.

3. When I evaluate the grammarians' method and Ibn Maḍā's in light of modern linguistics, I will compare and contrast the grammarians' regency approach and modern dependency grammar as in Robinson (1970:260) on the one hand, and Ibn Maḍā's theory and the structural-functional analysis as in the tagmemics of Cook (1969:5-9) on the other.

This does not mean, of course, that I claim that the grammarians or Ibn Maḍā were ahead of modern linguists in

adopting particular approaches (Chapter Four, Part IV); on the contrary, my concern will be to examine whether their ideas can be understood in light of modern linguistics or not, which may lead the investigator to suggest further studies for the future.²⁷

III. Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī: His Life and Works

A. Life of Ibn Maḍāʾ

Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī²⁸ (Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿĀṣim b. Maḍāʾ al-Lakhmī al-Qurṭubī) was born in 513 A.H./1118 A.D. in Cordova. He memorized the Qurʾān and learned Arabic grammar, lexicography, and literature from Ibn Mashkawāl and Ibn Saḥnūn. He studied Sībawayhi's al-kitāb 'The Book' under Ibn Rammāk. He learned Ḥadīth 'traditions,' and fiqh 'jurisprudence' under the judge ʿIyāḍ, a great Moroccan Ḥadīth expert. In addition to that, he studied ʿilm al-kalām 'scholastic theology,' medicine, arithmetic, and geometry. His biographers state that he was, however, most distinguished in the Arabic language and grammar.

Thus, most of Ibn Maḍāʾ' s education was in Andalusia which was, together with some parts of the Maghrib under al-murābiṭīn²⁹ 'Almoravid' control. Almoravid governors preferred the Mālikī madhhab 'sect' and tried to avoid any scholars who were not specialized in the primary and secondary principles of that sect. At the same time,

there was another movement which had been founded in the Maghrib by Ibn Tūmart, namely al-muwaḥḥidīn 'Almohad'.³⁰ Ibn Tūmart died in 524/1129, unsuccessful in his attempts to overthrow the Almoravid government. However, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī (d. 558/1162) was able to control the Maghrib and most of Andalusia and so is considered the actual founder of the Almohad Dynasty.

The Almohad governors did not believe in the secondary principles of the Mālikites; on the contrary, they believed in the ṣāḥirites and, thus, started calling on the people to go back to the origins of the Qurʾān and the Sunnah and to avoid the disputes created by the fuqahāʾ 'jurisprudents.'

Ibn Maḍāʾ³¹ got a kātib 'writer' position in 551/1155 at the time of Abd al-Muʾmin b. Alī, who ordered him to accompany his son Alī b. Abd al-Muʾmin to Fez. After the death of Abd al-Muʾmin b. Alī in 558/1149, Yūsuf b. Abd al-Muʾmin served as Caliph until 580/1183. During that period Ibn Maḍāʾ returned to Andalusia and was assigned in 563/1167 as Shaykh to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Abd al-Muʾmin who was the governor of Cordova. After that, Ibn Maḍāʾ accepted the position of judge of Bougie in most probably 569/1173.

In 571/1175, Ibn Maḍāʾ became qāḍī al-jamāʿa³² 'chief judge' of the Almohads and served in the same position until he fell ill in 583/1186 and could not continue his duties. This had Abu Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (became Caliph in 580

to 595/1183 to 1198) appoint Abdallāh b. Ali b. Marwān in his place. After his recovery, Ibn Maḍāʾ became a judge in Bougie in 595/1188, where he had served before. After he retired, Ibn Maḍāʾ lived in Seville until his death in 592 or 593/1195 or 1196.

B. Works of Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī

It is reported that Ibn Maḍāʾ wrote three books:³³ al-Mushriq fī al-Nahw 'The Shining in Grammar,' Tanzīh al-Qurʾān ʿammā lā Yalīqu bi-al-Bayān 'The Purity of the Qurʾān From What is not Suitable of Explanation,' and al-Radd ʿalā al-Nuḥāh 'Response to the Grammarians.' Although the first two are no longer extant, we can determine his ideas and method through the third one, which is the object of the present study.

From Ibn Maḍāʾ's statement (p. 63) we may state that he wrote his book, Response to the Grammarians, at the time of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb (580 to 595/1183 to 1198), but we cannot be sure of the exact date.

Shawqī Dayf edited and published the first manuscript of the book al-Radd ʿalā al-Nuḥāh 'Response to the Grammarians' in 1947. He found it in the Taymūriyya Library in Cairo (No. 375 nahw).³⁴

Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā edited and published another manuscript of al-Radd ʿalā al-Nuḥāh in 1979. Its original is located in the Khalīliyya Library in Jerusalem.³⁵ He also thinks that the Khalīliyya

manuscript is the original of the al-Taymūriyya one. Therefore, in our present study we will utilize the second edition of the book, i.e., al-Bannā's edition 1979.

V. Review of the Literature

Hundreds of books and articles have been consulted by this writer to achieve the goals of the present study, too many to characterize individually. The traditional Arab grammarians' books were consulted for their views, methods, and practices. Modern Arab grammarians' were reviewed mainly because of their interest in simplifying the Arabic grammar. Modern western linguistic books and articles were consulted to examine the possibility of understanding both Ibn Maḍāʾ's and the grammarians' methods and practices in the light of modern linguistic approaches.

In this section, I shall mention two types of books and articles: the ones which are related directly to the work of Ibn Maḍāʾ, and the ones which can be linked to the goals and principles of Ibn Maḍāʾ; i.e., impact of Ibn Maḍāʾ.

A. Directly Related Works

1. Shawqī Dayf (1947)

Shawqī Dayf edited Ibn Maḍāʾ's book for publication in 1947; it was published in Cairo by dāru al-Fikri al-ʿArabi in about 167 pages. In his introduction, Shawqī Dayf describes the manuscript which he used, providing

valuable information about Ibn Maḍāʾ's life and his century and a survey of Ibn Maḍāʾ's most important ideas. However, Dayf does not aim at analysis, nor does he apply Ibn Maḍāʾ's theory to Arabic grammar; his goal is to introduce Ibn Maḍāʾ's work to readers of Arabic and to describe his methodology in editing the book.

2. Muḥammad ʿĪd (1973)

Muḥammad ʿĪd wrote a book entitled uṣul al-naḥwi al-ʿarabiyyi 'The Principles of Arabic Grammar,' published in Cairo by ʿĀlam al-Kutub. ʿĪd compares Ibn Maḍāʾ's ideas with those of the grammarians, but without analysis or illustrations of how they can be applied. In addition to that, he does not deal with the originality and the creativity of Ibn Maḍāʾ's views. ʿĪd does not codify the western ideas to show how the Arab grammarians or Ibn Maḍāʾ can be understood.

3. Kojiro Nakamura (1974)

Nakamura wrote a very good article entitled "Ibn Maḍāʾ's Criticism of Arabic Grammarians" (Orient, No. 10 : 89-113). Nakamura tries to introduce Ibn Maḍāʾ's work to readers by describing the legal theory of the Ṣāḥirites, the methodological premises of Ibn Maḍāʾ, and a summary of Ibn Maḍāʾ's ideas.

Despite Nakamura's misunderstanding of Ibn Maḍāʾ when he states (p. 107-108) that Ibn Maḍāʾ opposes analogy, and despite the fact that he does not try to compare Ibn Maḍāʾ's views with those of either the grammarians or the

modern linguists, his article was extremely fruitful in suggesting lines of approach.

4. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā (1979)

As we mentioned earlier, al-Bannā edited Ibn Maḍāʾ's book (Cairo, 1979, dār al-iʿtiṣām). In his introduction (p. 45-46), al-Bannā states the following:

a. Ibn Maḍāʾ did not have an alternative to the theory of the ʿāmil.

b. Ibn Maḍāʾ is not reliable in his quotes because he manufactured disputes between Sībawayhi and Ibn Jinnī without basis.

c. Ibn Maḍāʾ did not mention his predecessors who had criticized the ʿilal, such as Ibn Ḥazm, ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, and Ibn Sinān al-Khaffājī.

Al-Bannā's claims can be refuted as follows:

a. Ibn Maḍāʾ did have an alternative to the theory of the ʿāmil: the descriptive approach to the functioning of the structures without any rational ʿilal 'reasons' or implicit regents.³⁶

b. When Ibn Maḍāʾ quotes from Ibn Jinnī he does not aim at creating a dispute between him and Sībawayhi, but at proving that the actual cause of inflections is the speaker himself and not the ʿāmil.³⁷

c. It is true that Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Sinān al-Khaffājī criticized al-ʿilal before Ibn Maḍāʾ, but they did not try to apply any new concepts, nor did they

analyze Arabic grammar. Ibn Ḥazm was a faqīh 'jurisprudent' and Ibn Sinān al-Khaffājī was a poem's critic. Furthermore, the similarities between Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Maḍāʾ are expected due to the fact that both were from the Zāhirite school. Thus, when we find similarities between Cook (1969) and Pike (1960) we do not state that Cook is a copier.

d. Regarding al-Jurjānī's views and terms³⁸, we do not have any proof that Ibn Maḍāʾ had an opportunity to see al-Jurjānī's books. In addition to that, al-Jurjānī believed in the theory of the ʿāmil as he wrote al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʿa 'The One Hundred Regents.' Then, he made an excellent contribution to both Arabic grammar and balāgha 'rhetoric' when he wrote his books ḥalāl al-ʿIʿjāz 'Proofs of inimitability' and ʿAsrār al-Balāgha 'Secrets of Eloquency.'

Among al-Jurjānī's concerns was to prove the inimitability of the Qurʾān as the topic of his time was on that problem: that is, Why is the Qurʾān muʿjiz 'inimitable'? Some said because God did not make us able to imitate it; thus, it is inimitable by al-ṣirfa 'prevention.' Others, however, believed that it was because of the lafz 'utterances' of the Qurʾān. Al-Jurjānī, on the other hand, emphasizes that the Qurʾān is inimitable because of its maʿnā 'meaning' which is expressed according to the rules of Arabic. Thus, he

invents the theory of nazm³⁹ 'discourse arrangement' which calls for the study of language on the basis of syntactic and semantic function, as Rammuny illustrates.

B. Impact of Ibn Maḍāʾ?

It seems that Ibn Maḍāʾ's ideas and call for the abolishing of the unnecessary elements in Arabic grammar was not noted by many grammarians of his time or in the subsequent medieval period. This can be due to the following:

1. Ibn Maḍāʾ was a ṣāḥirite, while the majority of the grammarians were not. And ijmāʿ^C 'unanimous agreement' was a very important principle for the majority.

2. Ibn Maḍāʾ wrote his book in the past period of his life, as we have noted earlier, and so he did not have students to introduce his work to others, while the grammarians before him were well-known and had established schools of grammar and had their disciples.

3. His rejection of the principles of the Arab grammarians, such as the ʿāmil 'regent,' ʿilāl 'reasons,' taqdīr 'suppletive insertion,' and ijmāʿ^C 'unanimous agreement,' might have reflected negatively on others at that time.

4. Ibn Maḍāʾ did not apply his method to all topics of Arabic grammar, while the grammarians applied their theoretical concepts on all aspects of grammar.

On the other hand, there have been several works published in modern times that manifest directly or indirect influence by the goals, method, and ideas of Ibn Maḍāʾ. Below are some of them:

1. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā (1937) wrote a book entitled ihyāʾ al-nahw 'The Revival of Grammar,' published in Cairo ten years before the appearance of the first edition of Ibn Maḍāʾ's book. Despite this fact, there are some similarities between both works in terms of the call for abolishing the concepts of ʿamal 'regency,' tagdīr 'suppletive insertions,' and ʿilal 'reasons.'⁴⁰ This does not mean that both works are identical; on the contrary, Muṣṭafā's presented some new suggestions. For example, he believes that al-damma '(the vowel) u' is the sign of isnad 'attribution' (p. 53-60), al-kasra '(the vowel) i' is the sign of the genitive construction (p. 72-77), and al-fatha '(the vowel) a' is not an inflectional marker but a "light" vowel used by the Arabs to denote absence of any particular vowel in our daily speech (p. 78-100).

2. Anīs Furayḥa (1955)

Furayḥa's book, nahwa ʿarabiyyatin muyassaratin 'Toward a Simple Arabic,' discusses the issue of diglossia in Arabic; the author repeats Ibn Maḍāʾ's call for abolishing the regency theory and all other related notions.⁴¹ His main concern is to simplify the Arabic

language and to make it more attractive to people. To achieve that goal, Furayḥa suggests replacing the Arabic alphabet by Latin letters.

3. Maḥdī al-Makhzūmī (1964, 1966)

Al-Makhzūmī wrote two important books; in the first one entitled fī-al-naḥw al-ʿarabī: naqd wa-tawjīh 'On Arabic Grammar: Criticism and Guidance' (Beirut, al-maktaba al-ʿaṣriyya, 1964), he criticizes the grammarians' concepts of regency and assumptions and tries, clearly, to analyze some aspects of Arabic grammar without the notion of regency. He also calls for a reform of Arabic grammar and promises to apply his method in another book. In 1966, the second book appeared in Cairo, entitled fī al-naḥw al-ʿarabī qawāʿid wa-tatbīq 'On Arabic Grammar: Rules and Applications.' As mentioned by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, who wrote the preface of the book, al-Makhzūmī adopts some theoretical principles of the Kūfa school, Ibn Maḍāʾ's methods, Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā's ideas, and of his own experiences.

It is to be noted that al-Makhzūmī's attempts are valuable ones to anyone seeking to simplify Arabic grammar.

4. ʿAbbās Ḥasan (1966)

In his book, al-luḡa wa-al-naḥw bayna al-qadīm wa-al-ḥadīth 'Language and Grammar Between the Traditional and the Modern,' published in Cairo, Ḥasan indicates that

the grammarians went too far in their dependence on ʿilāl, ʿawāmil and taqdīr and, thus, they were affected by logic and ʿilm al-kalām 'scholastic theology.' He also adopts a position in which he does not like the call to Arabic grammar from all its traditional principles, nor does he like all practices of the Arab grammarians.⁴²

5. Fuʿād ʿarazī (1973)

ʿarazī published his attempt fī sabīli taysīri al-ʿarabiyyati wa-tahdīthihā 'To Simplify and Modernize Arabic' in Beirut. After stating the reasons which make Arabic a difficult language, he suggests the following (p. 75-100):

1. Deleting all theoretical disputes from grammar books.

2. Abolishing the ʿāmil and logical principles from grammar.

3. Ignoring iʿrāb '(case-mood) inflections' through the language.

ʿarazī tries to apply his method to verbs and nouns, and ends up suggesting a language which is similar to the dialects as a replacement for classical Arabic.

6. Muḥammad al-Kassār (1976)

Al-Kassār entitled his book al-miftāḥ li-taʿrībi al-naḥw 'The Key to Arabizing Grammar,' published in Syria; he aims at presenting a new theory in Arabic grammar. But before doing so, al-Kassār reviews in detail most attempts

before him. In his interesting attempt, al-Kassār offers a new method of analyzing the function of words in Arabic sentences. He states that in analyzing the function of nouns, the ʿimād 'primary structure' is represented by the nominative marker, the wasīṭ 'secondary structure' is represented by the genitive marker, and the fadla 'tertiary structure' is represented by anything else (p. 161-224). In verbs, however, the primary structure is signalled by the indicative mood, the secondary, by the subjunctive mood, and the absense of functionality by the jussive mood. It is to be noted that al-Kassār's ideas are similar to those of Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, but he uses different terms.

7. Abdu al-Ḥusayn al-Fatlī (1979)

Al-Fatlī wrote an article in al-talīʿa al-adbiyya entitled "mā yusammā bi-al-ittijāhāt al-ḥadītha fī al-naḥw" 'On the so-called new trends in grammar' (No. 12, p. 49-56). He claims that Ibn Maḍāʾ is just an imitator of his caliph, and that Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā is another dimension of Ibn Maḍāʾ. Regarding the first claim, I have illustrated before that both of them were Zāhirites, and that their general ideas might well be similar. Regarding the second, however, I think that there are some similarities between both, but their works are not identical, as I have explained before.

8. Raji Rammuny (1980, 1985)

In his recent published article, "muṣṭalaḥu al-ta^clīqī li-al-^callāma al-imām ^cAbdulqāhir al-Jurjānī" in al-thaqāfa al-^carabiyva (No. 8, p. 69-78) as well as in his forthcoming articles, "Al-Jurjānī: A Forgotten Pioneer of Grammatical and Linguistic Studies"⁴³ (p. 1-27) and "The Role of al-Jurjānī's Concept of ta^clīq in the Development of Arabic Grammatical Theory and Linguistic Analysis"⁴⁴ Rammuny illustrates clearly the contribution of al-Jurjānī to Arabic syntax and semantics. After he presents and analyzes his method of nazm 'discourse arrangement' and ta^clīq 'syntactic and semantic interrelationship,' Rammuny links al-Jurjānī's efforts to those of modern linguists. He also quotes a text from Ibn Maḍā? which shows his dissatisfaction with contemporary Arab grammarians.

Moreover, Rammuny (p. 26) expresses the need for a reform of Arabic grammar to be achieved "through careful study of the ways in which the constituents of speech are interrelated on the basis of their syntactic-semantic functions on the discourse level."

9. Tammām Hassān (1980, 1981)

Hassān wrote two books which contain topics related to our present study. The first one, entitled al-luḡha al-^carabiyva bayna al-mi^cvāriyva wa-al-waṣṣfiyva⁴⁵ 'The Arabic Language Between Two Approaches: The Prescriptive

and the Descriptive.' Ḥassān distinguishes clearly between the attitude of a speaker toward his language and that of a researcher who wants to describe that language. According to Ḥassān, the grammarians have adopted the speaker's position when they prescribed for themselves and others the way they should speak and wrote. On the other hand, a linguist should describe a language and not prescribe it.

In his second book, al-uṣūl⁴⁶ 'The Principles,' Ḥassān discusses the sources and basic principles of three sciences of Arabic: al-naḥw 'grammar,' fiḥu al-luḡa 'linguistics,' and al-balāgha 'rhetoric.' The important thing in this book for the present study is that Ḥassān was able to quote from the manuscript of Ibn al-Sarrāj's book, uṣūl al-naḥw 'The Principles of Grammar' in which Ibn al-Sarrāj discusses the concept of taʿlīl 'seeking motives/reasons' and illustrates most types of ʿilal. In addition to that, Ḥassān (p. 194-98) quotes from Ibn Maḍāʾ and criticizes him for adopting an instructional position of the ʿilal and not a linguist position.

Thus, none of the above-mentioned authors⁴⁷ has done all of what the present study aims at. This indicates the importance of this study in the field of comparative theoretical linguistics in general and as a primary

reference for the theories and practices of the traditional Arabic grammarians as represented by two main approaches: the grammarians' regency theory and Ibn Maḍāʾi's surface structural approach.

Notes to Chapter One

1. See Part II.B.6.g.(1)-(3) of Chapter Two.
2. Such as al-Duʿalī (d. 69/686), Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim (d. 90/707), Abdulrahmān b. Hurmuz (d. 117/734), Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmur (d. 129/746), al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 117/734), ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar (d. 150/767), and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 154/771).
3. See Part II. of Chapter Two.
4. Regarding his biographers, see Note 31 in Chapter Two.
5. For his biographers, see Note 42 in Chapter Two.
6. Regarding his efforts, see Part III.B. of Chapter Two.
7. About his principles, see Michael Carter, A Study of Sibawayhi's Principles of Grammatical Analysis. Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, June 1968.
8. Some of them are: Quṭrub (d. 206/820), al-Akhfash (d. 215/829), and al-Mubarrid (d. 285/897).
9. Some of them are: Muʿādh al-Harrāʾ (d. 187/802), al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/804), and al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/221).
10. See Ibn al-Anbārī, al-insāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf bayna al-naḥwiyyīna al-basriyyīna wa-al-kūfiyyīn. Edited by Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn Abduḥamid, Cairo, daru al-fikr, no date.
11. Regarding their sources, see Part III.C.1. of Chapter Two.
12. Regarding this concept, see Part I. of Chapter Three.
13. About the grammarians' practice of this concept, see Part II. of Chapter Three.
14. The grammarians usually use idmār when they discuss pronouns and ḥadhf when they discuss anything else. But this is not necessarily the case in all situations.
15. See Part II.B.2. of Chapter Four.
16. For further detail about this term, see Nijmegen Versteegh, "The Origin of the Term qiyās in Arabic Grammar." Journal of Arabic Linguistics. 4(1980) : 7-30.

17. See Part II.B. of Chapter Four.
18. See Part II. of Chapter Five.
19. In his excellent book, Ignaz Goldziher illustrates the meaning of this term as first adopted by jurists. See his book, The Zāhiris. Translated by Wolfgang Behn, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1971, p. 32.
20. See Goldziher, Note 19 above.
21. Namely, the Ḥāmil 'regent,' the Ḥilāl 'reasons,' the taqdīr 'suppletive insertions' and the use of made-up examples.
22. On the principles of fiqh, see Goldziher, 1971:6-13.
23. See his statement, al-Radd ʿalā al-Nuḥāh, 1979, Cairo, Dār al-ʿItisām, p. 64.
24. See in detail, Part I.B. of Chapter Four.
25. Regarding the contents of his book, see Part I.A. of Chapter Four. Also, it is to be mentioned that topics (1)-(4) are discussed in Chapter Four and (5)-(6) in Chapter Five.
26. Shawqī Dayf (1947:37-38) states that Ibn Maḳāḳ calls for the abolishing of analogy. However, the investigator can claim safely that Ibn Maḳāḳ does not call for that; on the contrary, he calls for the abolishing of made-up examples which do not have equivalence in Arabic speech and are just a result of applying the analogical rules. See our discussion, Part IV. of Chapter Five.
27. Several topics for further research have been suggested in Chapter Six.
28. On his name and biography, see Ibn Dihya, al-muṭrib min aḥḥār ahl al-maḥrib 'The Enjoyable of Moroccan's Poems.' Edited by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo, 1954 : 187; al-Suyūṭī, buḥyat al-wuḥā. Cairo, 1964, 1:323; Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākishi, al-dhawl wa-al-takmilah li-kitabay al-mawsūl wa-al-sila 'The Appendix and the Completion of both books: al-mawsūl and al-ṣila.' Edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1964:212; and Dayf's Introduction in al-radd ʿalā al-nuḥā, 1947:9-13.

29. On the history of this period, see Muḥammad ^CAbdallāh ^CInān, Ḥasr al-murābiṭīn wa-al-muwaḥḥidīn fī al-maghrib wa-al-andalus 'The Century of Almoravid and Almonad in Morocco and Andalus.' Cairo, 1964.
30. In addition to the above reference, see ^CAbdallāh ^CAlī ^CAllām, al-ḥawla al-muwaḥḥidiyya fī al-maghrib fī Ḥad ^CAbd al-Muḥmin b. ^CAlī 'The Almonad State in Morocco During the Caliph Abd al-Muḥmin b. Ali.' Cairo, 1971.
31. Despite the fact that Ibn Maḍā? was originally a Mālikī, he was later influenced by the Caliph's sect, namely Zāhirī.
32. This position is called qāḍī al-quḍā in the eastern Islamic states.
33. Most biographers are in agreement on these books.
34. For more information about the manuscript, see Ḍayf's introduction in al-Radd Ḥalā al-Nuḥāh 1947:13-16.
35. On al-Bannā's description of the manuscript, see his introduction of al-Radd Ḥalā al-Nuḥāh p. 51-52.
36. For further details, see Part IV. of Chapter Four and Part V. of Chapter Five.
37. On this issue, see Part II.A. of Chapter Four.
38. See Raji Rammuny, "The Role of Al-Jurjānī's Concept of ta^Cliq in the Development of Arabic Grammatical Theory and Linguistic Analysis," forthcoming in: Volume of Essays in Memory of Ernest Abdel Massiḥ. The University of Michigan.
39. See Raji Rammuny, "Al-Jurjānī: A Forgotten Pioneer of Grammatical and Linguistic Studies," forthcoming in Historiographica Linguistica, XII: 3(1985).
40. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, ihvā? al-nahw 'The Revival of Grammar.' Cairo, 1937, Lajnat al-ta?līf wa-al-tarjama wa-al-nashr, p. 10-12.
41. It is to be noted that Furayḥa wrote a book before this one entitled tabṣīṭ qawā^Cid al-^Carabiyya wa-tabwibuhā Ḥalā asāsīn mantiḡiyyīn jadīdīn 'To Simplify Arabic Grammar According to New Logical Basis.' Beirut, maṭba^Cat al-murāsīlīn al-lubnāniyyīn, 1952.
42. ^CAbbās Ḥasan, al-luḡha wa-al-nahw bayn al-qadīm wa-al-ḥadīth. Cairo, 1966, dār al-ma^Cārif, p. 260.

43. Forthcoming in Historiographica Linguistica, XII: 3(1985).
44. Forthcoming in Volume of Essays in Memory of Ernest Abdel-Massih, Department of Near Eastern Studies, The University of Michigan.
45. Casablanca, 1980, dar al-thaqafa.
46. 1981, by the same publisher as in Note 45.
47. Just before the final defense, I became aware of a Ph.D. dissertation entitled Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurtubī and the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians, by Ronald G. Wolfe, Indiana University, October 1984. In the first chapter (about 35 pages) Wolfe discusses in detail Ibn Maḍāʾ's life and works. Then in the second chapter (about 58 pages), he discusses the grammarians' theory through Ibn Maḍāʾ's book. In the third chapter (about 36 pages) he discusses the origins of Ibn Maḍāʾ's views and his subsequent impact. Finally, Wolfe translates Ibn Maḍāʾ's book (about 118 pages). Therefore, I have compared my translation of the quotations which I have cited from Ibn Maḍāʾ's book with those of Wolfe's and a few changes have been made accordingly.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC GRAMMATICAL THEORY

I. Introduction

The Arabic language belongs to the Semitic language family relating to a wider Afro-Asiatic family.¹ Afro-Asiatic is subdivided into Semitic (Akkadian, Ugaritic, Aramaic/Syriac Hebrew and Ethiopic) Egyptian, Cushitic, Berber, and Chadic. Within Semitic, Arabic is classified as SW, standing between South Semitic² and NW Semitic,³ and is closely related to both.⁴

It is stated in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (1954, 1:562) that the oldest records of Arabic consist of some 40 proper names in Assyrian accounts of fighting against the Aribi during the years 835-626 B.C. collected by T. Weiss-Rosmarian and F. Hommel. There are also some other old texts in Arabic script; some were found on the wall of the temple of Ramm in Sinai dated 300 A.D. and others were found in Zabad, 512 A.D.

As to the origins of classical Arabic (CA), earlier Muslim tradition sought it in various tribes,⁵ while later scholars identified it with the dialect of Quraysh.⁶ This view was accepted by Grimme (1904:23) and Taha Husayn (1927:16-25). Most Western scholars agree in seeking its home among the bedouins of Najd, as did in practice the

Muslim philologists of the 2nd-4th Islamic centuries who would only accept Najdī bedouins as authoritative informants.⁷ Some believe it to have been originally the language of one definite tribe, others a compromise between various dialects, others again think it acquired some purely artificial characteristics.⁸ However, I think that if we mean by CA (1) the pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry; (2) the Qurʾān; (3) the official correspondence of prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and the first four caliphs; (4) the Ḥadīth 'the sayings of the prophet'; and (5) the prose portions of the Ayyām al-ʿArab 'the Arabian days,' CA or fuṣḥā in this sense was not the language of Quraysh only but the language of various tribes because of the following:

A. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is pronounced in some traditional dialects, but it is changed into the feature vowel length in other dialects. For instance, Tamīm and Qays have it while Ḥijāz and Quraysh change it into vowel length in the following:

<u>Tamīm & Qays</u>	<u>Ḥijāz & Quraysh</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
muʔmin	mūmin	'believer'
raʔs	rās	'head'
biʔr	bīr	'well'
kaʔs	kās	'cup'

This situation is reflected in the recitation of the Qurʾān also up to present time, as we hear the reciters

from Egypt, Syria, and Iraq pronounce the glottal stop according to Ḥafṣ¹⁰ recitation. On the other hand, reciters from Libya, Algeria and Northwest Africa change it into vowel length according to Warsh¹¹ recitation.

B. In fushā¹² Arabic (FA) 'Grammatical Arabic' the agreement between the subject and the verb in terms of number and gender is determined by the position of the verb in relation to the subject. Thus, if the verb precedes the subject, it must be in the singular form and only agrees with the subject in gender. Examples:

- | | | |
|--------|--|----------------------------|
| 3.m.s | waṣala l-mu ^c allimu | 'the teacher arrived' |
| 3.m.d | waṣala l-mu ^c allimāni | 'the two teachers arrived' |
| 3.m.pl | waṣala l-mu ^c allimūna | 'the teachers arrived' |
| 3.f.s | waṣalat-i-l-mu ^c allimatu | 'the teacher arrived' |
| 3.f.d | waṣalat-i-l-mu ^c allimatāni | 'the two teachers arrived' |
| 3.f.pl | waṣalat-i-l-mu ^c allimātu | 'the teachers arrived' |

However, if the verb follows the subject, it must agree with the subject in both number and gender.

Examples:

- | | | |
|--------|--|----------------------------|
| 3.m.s | al-mu ^c allimu waṣala | 'the teacher arrived' |
| 3.m.d | al-mu ^c allimāni waṣalā | 'the two teachers arrived' |
| 3.m.pl | al-mu ^c allimūna waṣalū | 'the teachers arrived' |
| 3.f.s | al-mu ^c allimatu waṣalat | 'the teacher arrived' |
| 3.f.d | al-mu ^c allimatāni waṣalatā | 'the two teachers arrived' |
| 3.f.pl | al-mu ^c allimātu waṣalna | 'the teachers arrived' |

On the other hand, we find texts in CA, in addition to the above cases, where the verb and the subject agree with each other in both cases of the position of the verb. Examples:

1. From the Qurʾān

- (1) wa ʔasarrū al-najwā al-ladhina ʔalamū¹³
V S
and conceal counsels those who did wrong
'the wrong-doers conceal their private counsels'
- (2) thumma ʕamū wa ṣammū kathīrun minhum
V S
and became blind and became deaf many of them
'Yet again many of them became blind and deaf.'
2. From the Ḥadīth
- (3) yataʕāqabūna fīkum malāʔikatun bi l-layli
V S
they follow you angels in the night
wa malāʔikatun bi al-nahār¹⁵
and angels in the day
'there are angels who follow you and take turns
nightly and daily'

3. From Poetry

- [illegible]

- (5) yālūmūnānī fī shtirāʔi al-nakhīlī
 V
they blame me for my buying the date palm
aḥlī fa kulluhum ya^cdhilū¹⁷
 S

my family thus all of them blame

'My family blame me for buying date palm, thus all of them do so.'

- (6) raʔayna l-ghawānī al-shayba lāḥa bi-^Cāridī
 V S
 they saw the singers gray hair appeared in my head
 fa a^Craḍna ^Cannī bi - l-khudūdi al-nawāḍirī¹⁸
 so they avoided me in cheeks brightening

'The singers saw my gray hair, therefore, they who have brightening cheeks avoided me and went away.'

In the above examples we see that the verb agrees with the subject even if the verb occurs before it, e.g., in (1) the verb ʔasarrū agrees with the subject al-ladhīna; in (2) the verbs camū and ṣammū agree with the subject kathīrun; in (3) yata^Cāqabūna agrees with malāʔikatun; in (4) aslamāhu agrees with mub^Cadun and ḥamīmū; in (5) yalūmūnanī agrees with ahli and in (6) raʔayna agrees with al-ghawānī.

All of the above examples and many others show that in CA there are some texts which differ from fuṣṣḥā Arabic, which is considered grammatically correct by the grammarians. The agreement between the verb and the subject, regardless of the position of the verb which contradicts fuṣṣḥā grammatical rules was known in the dialects of Azd, ʔayʔ and Balḥarth b. Ka^Cb.

C. There are many words in CA which can be considered as both masculine and feminine¹⁹, e.g., sabīl 'way, ḥāl 'situation, sūq 'market and dhirā^C 'arm.' In addition to that, there are some texts in which the broken

unhuman plural is treated as broken human plural.

Examples from the Qurʾān:

- (7) wa ʿallama ʾĀdama al-ʾasmāʾa kullahā thumma
and he taught Adam the names all then

ʿaradahum ʿalā al-malāʾikah²⁰
he placed them before the angels

'He taught Adam the names of all things, then he placed them before the angels.'

- (8) yā ayyuhā al-namlu dkhulū masākinakum
oh ye ants enter your habitations

la yahtimannakum sulaymanu wa junuduhu²¹
no may he crush Solomon and his soldiers

'O ye ants, get into your habitations, lest Solomon and his hosts crush you.'

According to fuṣṣa Arabic, ʿaradahum in (7) should be ʿaradahā in order to agree with al-ʾasmāʾa which is non-human plural. Also in (8) masākinakum should be masākinaka to agree with al-namlu which is collective noun. However, this is not the case, which leads us to suppose that there were some tribes who spoke this way.

D. If CA was the language of a particular tribe or group of people, modern Arabic dialects should have the major features of that language. However, there are many features in modern Arabic dialects which do not relate to CA; on the contrary, they can be related to ancient Arabic dialects. Examples:

1. In many modern Arab dialects (MAD) the vowel /i/ is inserted instead of /a/ in the imperfect forms:

	<u>FA</u>	<u>MAD</u>	<u>meaning</u>
2.m.s	tal ^C ab	til ^C ab	'you play'
3.m.s	yal ^C ab	yil ^C ab	'he plays'
3.f.s	tal ^C ab	til ^C ab	'she plays'
1.pl	nal ^C ab	nil ^C ab	'we play'

This feature was noticed by the ancient grammarians and was called "taltalah" Ferguson (1959:619) suggests that this change from /a/ to /i/ is either a general phonetic change or a morphologically conditioned change of some kind affecting all affixes. However, I think that this feature relates to ancient Arab dialects, as it is reported that the tribes of Qays, Tamīm, Asad and Rabī^Cah changed /a/ to /i/. Moreover, the Quḍā^Cah tribe was well known for changing /a/ to /i/, which the Arabs called "taltalat Quḍā^Cah." (Abdo al-Rājiḥī, 1968:114-115)

2. There is only one classical pattern of the primary doubled (geminate) in the perfect, e.g., CaCCa, for which the imperfect may have any of three patterns:

yaCuCC	/yamudd/	'he extends'
yaCaCC	/yamall/	'he gets bored'
yaCiCC	/yafirr/	'he flees'

However, in MAD we find the following patterns: yiCiCC, yuCuCC and yiCuCC. In addition to that, the perfect form of the geminate verb is CaCCe- instead of CaCaC- in FA. Examples:

	<u>FA</u>	<u>MAD</u>	<u>meaning</u>
1.s	marartu	marrēt	'I passed by'
1.pl	mararna	marrēna	'we passed by'
2.m.s	mararta	marrēt	'you passed by'
2.f.s	mararti	marrēti	'you passed by'
2.m.pl	marartum	marrētu	'you passed by'

It has been narrated by Arabs that the tribe of Bakr treated the geminate verb the way MAD do. (Ṣāliḥ al-Toḥma, 1969:60)

3. In MAD we find one form for each of the dual, the sound masculine plural, and al-asmāʔ al-khamsa 'the five nouns.' On the other hand, there is more than one form for each in FA. Examples using the dual noun kitābāni 'two books':

<u>FA</u>	<u>MAD</u>	<u>meaning</u>
ḍāʕa <u>l-kitābāni</u>	ḍāʕū <u>liktābēn</u>	'the two books are lost'
qaraʔtu <u>l-kitābayni</u>	qarēt <u>liktābēn</u>	'I read the two books'
<u>kitābayyi</u> l-waladi	<u>ktābēn</u> l-walad	'the boy's two books'

Thus, there is only one form for the dual in all MAD.²² The same thing can be claimed about the sound masculine plural and al-asmāʔ al-khamsa 'the five nouns.' This feature is related to ancient dialects as some of them had one form for each of the above subjects.²³

Because of all above reasons, I strongly oppose the claim that CA was a language of a certain tribe. On the contrary; I propose that it was the language of many tribes. What happened, in my view, was that Arab

grammarians took their data from some of the tribes and considered it as fuṣṣḥā 'grammatical,' but they refused to take from others, claiming that they were irregular, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

II. The Foundation of Arabic Grammar

In the following paragraphs I will first investigate the ancient grammarians' and historians' views of the founder of Arabic grammar; then I will examine the modern grammarians' opinions and finally I will present my own opinion regarding both arguments.

A. The Ancient Views

1. Ibn Sallām (died 232 A.H./846 A.D.) said, "The first one who founded grammar and established the categories of subject, object, genitive, prepositions, nominative, accusative and jussive was Abu al-Aswad al-Duʿālī" (1974, 1:12).

2. Ibn Qutayba (died 276 A.H./890 A.D.) said, "The first one who had written a book on grammar was Abu al-Aswad al-Duʿālī" (1966, 2:729).

3. Al-Mubarrid (died 328 A.H./942 A.D.) said, "The first one who founded grammar and 'pointed' the Qurʾān was Abu al-Aswad. And when he was asked about who guided Abu al-Aswad, he replied: 'Alī b. Abī Tālib'" (al-Zubaydī, 1954:13).

4. Ibn al-Anbārī (died 328 A.H./942 A.D.) related several accounts that Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī had founded Arabic grammar. He also reported that three people guided him: ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ziyād b. Abīh and Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (1971:39-44).

5. Abu al-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (died 351 A.H./965 A.D.) mentioned several stories which indicated that Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī was the founder of Arabic grammar, the one who devised the Qurʾānic points and was guided by Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Abu al-Ṭayyib al-lughawī, 1955:6-10). He also mentioned other narrations which indicated that Abdu al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz, Maymūn al-Aqran, ʿAnbasa al-Fīl and Abdullāh al-Ḥaḍramī were the founders of Arabic grammar.

6. Al-Zubaydī (died 379 A.H./933 A.D.) copied Ibn Sallām's statement that Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī was the first to found Arabic grammar. He added that al-Duʿalī was guided by Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (1954:21).

7. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (died 380 A.H./994 A.D.) mentioned that Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had heard someone reciting the Qurʾān incorrectly, so he asked al-Duʿalī to lay down the rules of Arabic (1954, 1:83).

8. Ibn al-Nadīm (died 380 A.H./994 A.D.) reported the same story in addition to other accounts which claimed that either Abdul-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz or Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim was the first to establish grammar (1971:45).

9. Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (died 381 A.H./995 A.D.) reported Ibn al-Nadīm's stories and did not add anything new (1939:13-14).

From the above statements I can state the following:

a. Up to the third Islamic century, historians and grammarians did not mention anyone other than al-Duʿālī as a founder of Arabic grammar.

b. There seems to be agreement among narrators that al-Duʿālī was the one who established Arabic grammar. However, there was not agreement among them on anyone else, despite the fact that other names were mentioned after that.

c. The other names which are mentioned after al-Duʿālī happened to be his students and his followers. This leads us to say that some historians thought that Ibn Hurmuz and Ibn ʿĀṣim were the founders of grammar.

d. The ones who agreed upon al-Duʿālī as the founder of Arabic grammar form two groups: one related this establishment to him without the guidance of anyone; and the second related the foundation to the guidance of Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

e. The ancients who discussed the main reasons why al-Duʿālī founded Arabic grammar gave partial reasons for this:

(1) Al-Mubarrid (died 286 A.H./888 A.D.) reported that al-Duʿālī heard his daughter saying:

mā ?aḥsanu al-samāʿi ?
 what beautiful the sky

'what is the most beautiful thing in the sky?'

al-Duʿalī replied: nujūmuhā 'its stars.' His daughter said: I am surprised. He said to her then: Say aḥsana, not aḥsanu, meaning that she has to change the final vowel /u/ to /a/ in the exclamation form, giving the meaning, "How beautiful the sky is!" This stimulated him to establish Arabic grammar (1956:95).

(2) Ibn al-Anbārī (died 328 A.H./876 A.D.) stated that the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered al-Duʿalī to put down the rules of grammar after he heard people making errors in reciting the Qurʾān (1971:39).

(3) Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (died 380 A.H./933 A.D.) reported that the caliph Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ordered al-Duʿalī to found grammar because he heard people making grammatical errors in reciting the Qurʾān (1953, 1:83).

(4) Al-Sīrāfī (died 381 A.H./934 A.D.) mentioned two stories regarding the main reason which encouraged al-Duʿalī to found grammar. The first was that al-Duʿalī heard a reciter reading the following Qurʾānic verse:

anna allāha barīʿun min l-mushrikīna wa rasūluhu
 verily God dissolve from pagans and his messenger

(Sūra 9:3)

'Verily, God and his Apostle dissolve (treaty) obligations with the pagans' (Yūsuf Alī, 1982:438).

He read rasūluhu as rasūlihi, thus the whole meaning is changed. So he provided the vowel points to the Qurʾān.

The second story is that a group of people came to Abdullāh b. Ziyād and one of them said,

aṣṣlaḥaka allāhu māta abānā wa taraka banūn
 guide you God died our father and left sons

(1939:18)

'God may guide you, our father has died and has left sons.'

Thus, the man said abānā* instead of abūnā and banūn* instead of banīn. Therefore, Abdullāh b. Ziyād ordered al-Duʿalī to put down the rules of Arabic.

B. The Modern Views

1. Aḥmad Amīn (1956, 2:285) tried to prove his rejection of what is narrated about al-Duʿalī by saying,

a. The first book about Arabic grammar which we have received is al-kitāb 'the book' by Sībawayhi.

b. It might be possible that the accounts which relate the foundation of Arabic grammar to al-Duʿalī were invented by Shiʿites who loved Alī b. Abī Tālib.

c. The riwāyāt 'accounts' which we received contradict each other.

d. What al-Duʿalī did was lay down the Qurʾānic vowel points and nothing more.

e. The first real grammarian before Sībawayhi was al-Ḥaḍramī who died 117 A.H./734 A.D.

2. Brockelman (1961, 2:123) believes that all of the stories which take the foundation of Arabic grammar back to al-Duʿalī or any of his students are fables. He believes that the actual story is still a mystery.

Therefore, the real invention of Arabic grammar started with the generation of al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi.

3. Michael Carter (1968:1) says that, "The various tales of the grammatical activities of Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī are useless as evidence for the beginnings of grammar." He added that al-Duʿalī is quoted several times by Sībawayhi as a poet but was never mentioned as a grammarian. This is perhaps all the confirmation we need to assert with Aḥmad Amīn that this whole matter is nothing but a fairy tale.

4. Shawqī Ḍayf (1968:16) believes that the historians were confused between the foundation of Arabic grammar and the laying down of the Qurʾānic vowel points because of the term al-^CArabiyya 'Arabic' which they used.

5. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā²⁴ follows a different methodology to reject the ancients' views. He examined the books of grammarians, not those of the historians. Then he wrote down the names of those who are mentioned in these books and organized them according to the times in which each one was mentioned. Below is an example of what he found in Sībawayhi's book:

a. Abdullāh b. Abī Ishāq (died 117 A.H./734 A.D.) is mentioned six times.

b. ^CIsā b. ^CUmar al-Thaqafī (died 150 A.H./767 A.D.) is mentioned 18 times.

c. Abū ^CAmr b. al-^CAlā? (died 154 A.H./771 A.D.) is mentioned 39 times.

After he finished his chart, he ended by claiming that neither al-Duʿalī nor any of his generation was mentioned in any of the grammarians' books. Therefore, al-Duʿalī's work was just that of composing the Qurʾanic points.

6. In contrast to these authors who rejected the ancients' views, there are some modern Arab scholars who agree with the ancients and copy their statements. For instance, al-Ṭanṭāwī (1973:17-32); al-Ḥalawānī (1979:39-49); and Āl Yāsīn (1980:60-63).

I can summarize my position on the above views as follows:

a. Brockelman and Carter, who deny the narrations and label them fables, did not depend on any evidence to prove their negation. They just did not believe the stories which were stated by the ancients. This methodology of rejecting the ancients' riwāyāt 'narrations' cannot be justified, since most of the Islamic sciences such as fiqh 'jurisprudence,' ḥadīth 'prophetic traditions,' ʿilm al-kalām 'scholastic theology' and al-ʿArabiyya 'Arabic language' were reported by narrators first, and then they were written down. Therefore, if we deny the stories because they were not originally written, we would deny all of what we have

inherited from the pre-Islamic and first Islamic centuries.

b. The absence of any books written by al-Duʿalī or his students does not necessarily mean that al-Duʿalī was not a grammarian. Sībawayhi's teachers, for instance, like ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and others, do not have any existing books; however, researchers still consider them as scholars in grammar because their views are written down in other books.

c. The claim that the accounts contradict each other is not true because this started only after the third century. However, there is almost unanimous agreement among most historians that al-Duʿalī was the one who established this science and that it was then developed by al-Ḥaḍramī and others.

d. Ḍayf's idea that the ancients were confused between the two terms al-ʿArabiyya and tanqīṭ 'pointing' is not acceptable. If we go back to the contexts, we will find out that they mentioned both terms in the same story. For instance, al-Mubarrid, who was one of Sībawayhi's students, said

ʾawwalu	man	waḍaʿa	al-ʿArabiyya	wa	naqqata
the first	who	established	grammar	and	pointed

al-muṣṣhaf	abū	al-Aswad	Ẓālim b. ʿAmr ²⁵
the Qurʾān	Abū	al-Aswad	Ẓālim b. ʿAmr

'The first to establish Arabic (grammar) and to point the Qurʾān was Abū al-Aswad Ẓālim b. ʿAmr.'

Thus, the grammarians were not confused between the two terms; on the contrary, they meant that al-Duʿalī did two things: one is the founding of Arabic and second the pointing of the Qurʾān.

e. The claim that Shiʿites related this science to Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is not accurate because none of the narrators which I investigated were shiʿi. Moreover, Alī himself was not shiʿi, as this term was used later.

f. It is true that Sībawayhi's book is the oldest extant book on Arabic grammar. But if we notice how advanced Sībawayhi was in his methodology and in his analysis, we may hypothesize that al-kitāb 'the book' was not without antecedents. There were the efforts of al-Duʿalī and his students; then, the efforts of al-Ḥaḍramī and his followers and al-Khalīl and his generation, as noted earlier.

g. I think that the works of al-Duʿalī and his students were successful not only because of their individual efforts, but also because of three other major factors in the environment: religion, society, and the language itself.

(1) The Religious Factor

Islam chose to make its challenge to the poetically-minded Arabs through a literary composition. The Qurʾān, by its excellence, was proof for the Arabs as miraculous as the turning of a stick into a snake. The whole

revolution in the life, belief and practical philosophy of the Arabs was embodied in the chapters of the Qurʾān. From the beginning of its revelation, it was learned by heart by the Muslims and recorded in writing by the special scribes employed by the prophet (al-Jahshayārī, 1938:28).

The general practice was that a Muslim would learn a few verses (ten, for example) and would not go beyond them until he knew their meaning and followed their precepts in practical life. This is why a group of companions (e.g., Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Maṣʿūd and Alī) became specialists in the interpretation of the Qurʾānic text. Thus, a new branch of literary and linguistic learning started which became later an important factor in the standardization of literary Arabic.

There was another important aspect of Qurʾānic reading which had some bearing on the establishment of Arabic grammar; namely, the variants which caused concern to many a faithful believer. The danger of this variation in the reading of the Qurʾānic text was removed by first, the preparation of standard copies at the command of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, and second, by the establishment of Arabic grammar.

Moreover, there were many sayings by the prophet and the caliphs which encouraged Muslims to learn good Arabic and consider this as a symbol of good belief (Ibn al-Anbārī, 1971, 1:15).

(2) Social Factors

After the rise of Islām, Arabs were no longer contained in their Peninsula, but had spread out with the rapidly sweeping conquests of Islām. Wherever they went, they carried with them not only the new Arabic Holy Book, but they also carried their tribal linguistic characteristics and their traditionally inherited literature (poetry, proverbs, narratives and oratorical speeches) which they stored in their memories (Aḥmad Amīn, 1956:259). These conquests were an important factor in the process of Arab linguistic unification. Several of the big invading armies were composed of mixtures of tribes, many of whom were accompanied by their women and children. Thus, a good deal of intermixing and intermarriage between the tribes took place in the conquered cities. Newly established settlements, such as al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, had in them elements from North, as well as from South Arabia and from Ḥijāz, as well as from Najd (Aḥmad al-Sharīf, 1965:309-316).

The Arabs passed from the tribal stage to the stage of cities and countries. Their social units were no longer tribal but urban, as in al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa, and regional, as in Syria and Egypt. This new regrouping must have had effects on the language, resulting in the reduction of differences between the dialects and the reinforcement of the unifying processes through the

establishment of Arabic grammar and a standardized Arabic.²⁶

Moreover, Arabic spread to new non-Arab territories. In some countries, like Syria and Egypt, it became--and still is at the present time--the national language of the country. In others, like Persia, it remained for a few centuries the language of culture. The spread and establishment of Arabic in some countries was aided by various factors. In Syria, Arab elements had already settled, Arabic poetry had been welcomed at the ghassānids' courts, and many of the inhabitants spoke Aramaic. In Iraq, too, Arab tribes had already settled from pre-Islamic times and an Arab state had established itself in al-Hira (Aḥmad Amīn, 1956:260).

These conquests, as Aḥmad Amīn states, acted as carriers of Arabic, both as a literary and as a colloquial language, in many different lands. As many Arabs migrated to these new territories, taking their language with them, so did great numbers of non-Arabs migrate in the opposite direction, many as slaves and mawālī 'clients,' settling in the big Arab centers of Mecca, Medīna, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. They naturally adopted Arabic as their medium of intercourse, and some of them mastered literary Arabic and became famous writers and poets. Thus, a movement of interaction between Arabs and non-Arabs was taking place all through the Islamic empire during the 1st/7th century.

The contribution of the conquered races to this civilization consisted in culture, learning, and administration, while the purely Arabian contribution lay in the linguistic and the religious field.

Arabic was thus invigorated by new elements of ideas and images and enriched with a new vocabulary, as al-Suyūṭī mentioned.²⁷ Furthermore, life in cities brought men of different tribes into close contact. In addition to these dialects, some forms of interdialectal speech were in existence, notably the language of oratory used by the tribal spokesman (khaṭīb) in his harangues, and the poetical language. Also, the mawālī 'clients' spoke Arabic with many alterations. Their language was characterized by a simplified pronunciation; the glottal stop was dropped; /q/, voiced in bedouin speech, became voiceless; emphatic and non-emphatic sounds, as well as ḍād and ẓāʾ were confused.²⁸ But the most telling feature of their Arabic in these two centuries, as Cantineau (1952:112) states, was the weakening and loss of the short final vowels and along with that, the abandonment of desinential inflection (i^Crāb).

All of these social factors prompted Arabs to start analyzing classical Arabic materials and establishing its rules.

(3) The Linguistic Factor

Brockelman (1961, 2:123) believes that the foundation of linguistics, in general, is a result of the appearance

of two opposing languages or levels of the same language. I think that this is true, also, with respect to the situation of the Arabic language in the first and second Islamic centuries.

Through literature, the Qurʾān, the ḥadīth and certain texts in colloquial Arabic, we can discern at least two levels of Arabic in these centuries:

(a) Classical Arabic, which can be characterized through the materials of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry; the Qurʾān; the ḥadīth; the prose portions of the Ayyām al-ʿArab 'the Arabian days' and the dialects of the tribes.²⁹

(b) The urban language, which appeared after the spread of Islām and the establishment of new cities like al-Ṭāʾif, al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and Baghdād. Many of the inhabitants of these cities were affected by the new communities surrounding them, such as Ethiopians, Romans and Persians (al-Jāḥiz, 1947, 1:18-19).

The establishment of new cities and the mixture between Arabs and non-Arabs brought about lahn 'grammatical errors.' Ibn al-Anbārī (1960:224) narrates several stories attributed to the time of the second caliph, Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, which contained grammatical errors.

Making grammatical errors became more common when converts to Islām started learning Arabic in order to

recite the Qurʾān (Ibn Jinnī, 1952, 2:8). This does not mean that errors were committed only by non-Arabs, but also by members of the tribes, as well as by well-known speakers. For instance, Abu al-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (1955:5) narrates a story about a speaker from a tribe who with his tribe converted to Islām; then, when he made an error in his speech, the prophet said, "Guide your brother, he has lost his way." Also, al-Ḥajjāj and some Ummaiad caliphs are believed to have made errors in their speeches (al-Zubaydī, 1954:28 and al-Jāḥiẓ, 1948, 2:205).

To make a grammatical error in reciting the Qurʾān or in delivering a speech was a shameful thing. Therefore, to avoid situations like that in their communications with each other, they started to pause at the end of each word. As a result of this phenomenon and because of the mixture between Arabs and non-Arabs, a colloquial language evolved and became the language of many people in informal situations. We can describe the characteristics of that language by the following:

(a) Words were misvocalized and mispronounced (Ibn Qutayba, 1963, 2:160).

(b) Pause had been generalized at the end of every word instead of at the end of utterances (al-Suyūṭī, 1905: 294-295).

(c) Foreign words entered Arabic in their original forms.³⁰

Therefore, all of the above factors should be considered in the foundation of Arabic grammar. This does not mean that we should ignore the efforts of al-Duʿalī; on the contrary, I believe that al-Duʿalī³¹ (69 A.H./686 A.D.) was the founder of Arabic grammar in terms of: (1) laying down the Qurʾānic points; and (2) recognizing some grammatical categories, e.g., subject, object, and genitive. We know his work through the following text from Ibn al-Anbārī (1971:40):

qāla li-ziyād ibni Abīh: qad ajabtuka ilā mā saʿalta wa-raʿaytu an ʿabdaʿa bi-iʿrābi l-Qurʾān. fabʿath ilayya bi-thalāthina rajulan. fa-aḥḍarahum ziyād fa-khtāra minhum Abū al-Aswad ʿashra, thumma lam yazal yakhtāruhum ḥattā khtāra minhum rajulan min ʿAbd al-Qays fa-qāla: khudh al-muṣḥaf, wa-ṣabghan yukhālifu lawna l-mudād, fa-idhā fataḥtu shafatayya fa-nquṭ wāḥidatan fawqa l-ḥarf wa-idhā ḍamamtuhumā fa-jʿal al-nuṭṭata ilā jānibi l-ḥarf, wa-idhā kasartuhumā fa-jʿal al-nuṭṭata fī asfalihi, fa-in atbaʿtu shayʿan min hādhihi l-ḥarakāt ghunnatan fa-nquṭ nuṭṭatayn.

(Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī) said to ziyād b. Abīh, I will do what you ordered. I will start with the Qurʾānic inflections. So, send to me thirty men. Then Ziyād did so and al-Duʿalī chose ten of them and continued selecting among them until he chose one from the tribe of Abd al-Qays. Al-Duʿalī said to him, Take the Qurʾān and a dye which has a different color from that of the Qurʾānic inscriptions. When you see me open (fataḥ) my mouth in pronouncing a letter, place a point over it; when I close (ḍamm) my mouth, place a point beside the letter, and when I pucker up (kasar) my mouth, place a point under the letter; if I make a nasalize (ghunna) after any of these vowels, then place two points.

It is understood through the above text that the tanqīṭ 'vowelling marks' which al-Duʿalī made was different from the diacritical marks³² (iʿjām). The

vowelling marks help to determine the correct pronunciation of the vowels in the word and to avoid grammatical mistakes because there were no signs or accents indicating the correct pronunciation. Unless someone had memorized the correct version he could, out of ignorance, easily commit a mistake. Example of vowelling marks:

	<u>Before al-Duʿalī</u>	<u>al-Duʿalī's work</u>	<u>New Style</u>
fatha	ﻉ	ﺏ	ﺏ
ḍamma	ﻉ	ﺏ	ﺏ
kasra	ﻉ	ﺏ	ﺏ

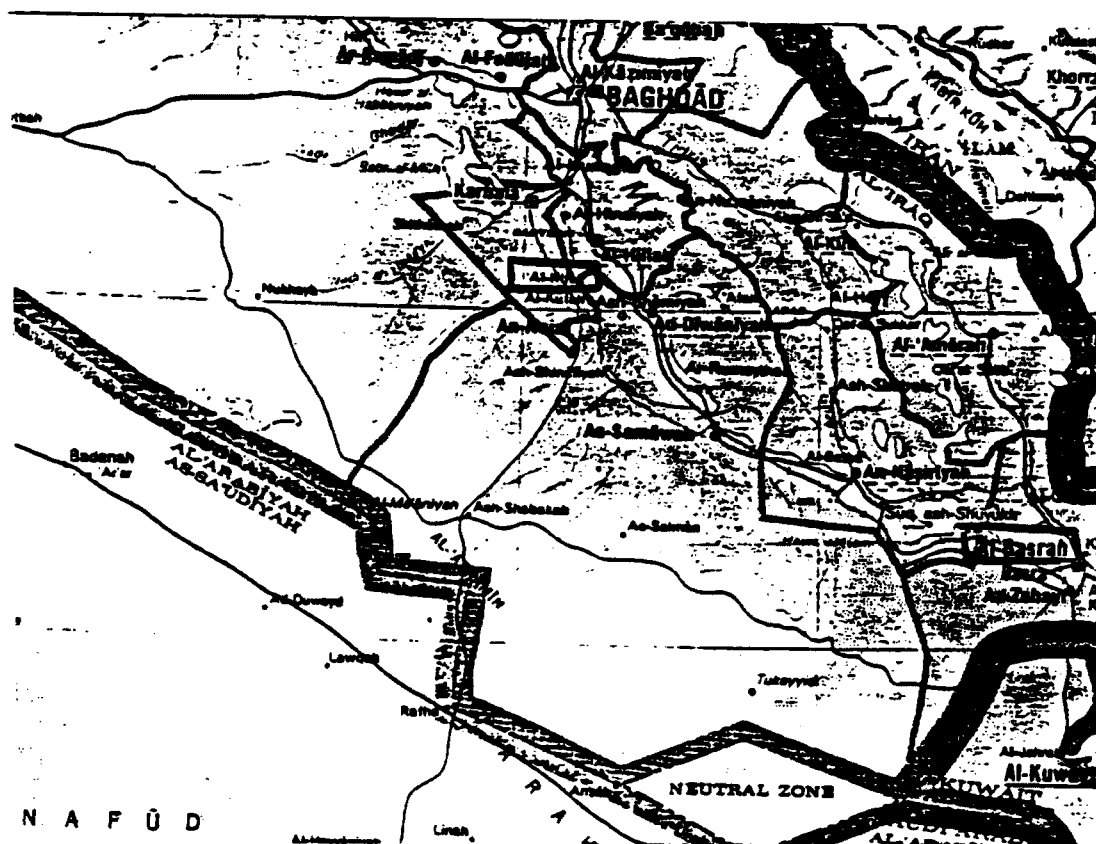
The work of al-Duʿalī leads us to say that he knew the differences between nominative, accusative and genitive in nouns; in addition to the differences between indicative, subjunctive and jussive in verbs. Otherwise, he would not have been able to determine the vowel of each letter. Moreover, he was aware of nunation which he called ghunna 'nasalization.'

Besides the work of al-Duʿalī in the foundation of Arabic grammar, there were also the efforts of his students, e.g., Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim³³ (90 A.H./707 A.D.), Abdulrahmān b. Hurmuz³⁴ (117 A.H./734 A.D.), and Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmur³⁵ (129 A.H./746 A.D.). It is narrated in the biographies that al-Duʿalī's students taught Arabic grammar in mosques and used to correct people when they made grammatical errors.³⁶

Moreover, there were the efforts of al-Ḥaḍramī³⁷ (117 A.H./734 A.D.), ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar³⁸ (149 A.H./766 A.D.), and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ³⁹ (154 A.H./771 A.D.). Some historians consider al-Ḥaḍramī to be the founder of Arabic grammar and not al-Duʿālī. This is because al-Ḥaḍramī was the first grammarian who expressed his own ideas about the language. In addition to that, he was the first to use qiyās 'analogy,' (Ibn Sallām, 1974, 1:14). Moreover, al-Ḥaḍramī called for a grammar which is distinguished from other sciences (Ibid., 1:15). But because he did not write books on Arabic grammar, his ideas are narrated in history and biographical works. Unlike al-Ḥaḍramī, ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ are believed to have written books. ʿĪsā Ibn ʿUmar (d. 150/767) wrote al-Jāmiʿ 'the comprehensive' and al-ʾikmāl 'the completion' (Abu al-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, 1955:23); and Abū ʿAmr wrote al-amthāl al-ʿArabiyya 'Arabic proverbs' and gharīb al-ḥadīth 'the strange words of tradition' (Ibn Khallikān, 1948, 3:466). However, none of these books are available today, despite the fact that they are mentioned in the biographical books and their ideas are mentioned many times in Sibawayhi's book, al-kitāb 'the book.'⁴⁰

In general, the first phase of grammar was the phase of inventing and expressing ideas about Arabic. Most of them depended on narrations and not on writing books. This is why their views are in history and biography

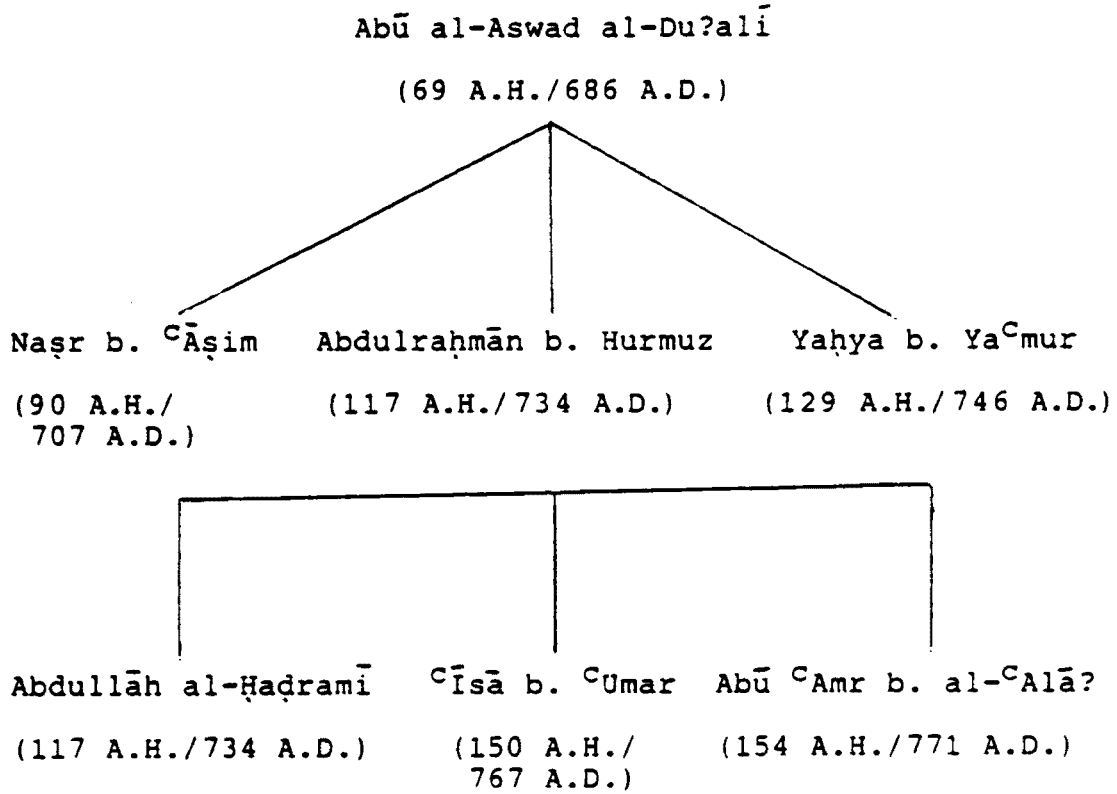
books. Up to this phase, their major concern in founding grammar was to recite the Qurʾān without making errors. This is why al-Duʿalī started laying down the vowelling marks as the science which deals with case markers and mood inflections. However, al-Ḥaḍramī after him started applying qiyās 'analogy,' but it was not comprehensive. All of these steps were preliminaries to advanced studies which followed and were carried out by al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad and his student Sībawayhi, as we will discuss in the following paragraphs.



MAP SHOWING BAṢRA AND KŪFA

(From: Rand McNally, "The Middle East")

The Arab Grammarians of the Foundation Phase



III. The Development of Arabic Grammar

A. Introduction

Arabic study circles as well as others continued in Baṣra, which was a camp city made up of people of different nationalities. The two most effective scholarly academies were al-masjid al-jāmi^c 'the Jāmi^c Mosque' and al-Mirbad (al-Makhzūmī, 1972:13).

Al-Jāmi^c Mosque was in the middle of the city. Several subjects were taught in it by very great scholars, e.g., al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī taught jurisprudence and ḥadīth; Wāṣil b. ^cAtā? taught scholastic theology; and Ḥammād b. Salma was a scholar of Arabic and traditions. At the same time, there were scholars in the Arabic language dealing mainly with linguistics and grammar, such as al-Akhfash al-Akbar⁴¹ (177 A.H./794 A.D.), al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad⁴² (177 A.H./794 A.D.), and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb⁴³ (182 A.H./799 A.D.).

It is known that al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad was the scholar who developed studies in Arabic linguistics more than anyone before him. He was the first one to write an Arabic dictionary, kitāb al-^cayn, in which he tried to generate most of the Arabic words through a mathematical method of forming every possible form from their stems and roots. He did not build his dictionary on the alphabetical system. He built it and organized it according to the points of articulation of sounds from the extreme back of the organs of speech to the front (al-

Khalīl, 1967:52). Also he was the one who invented al-^carūd 'prosody' by hypothesizing the sixteen meters of Arabic poetry (Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971:65). Moreover, it can be claimed that the basic principles of Arabic grammar which the grammarians followed later were laid down by him (al-Makhzūmī, 1972:75-78). His views on analyzing Arabic can be determined in al-kitāb 'the book' by Sībawayhi, who was his student and wrote down his teacher's opinions in his book.

We cannot accept Aḥmad Amīn's opinion (1956:298) that al-Khalīl was affected by Aristotle's thoughts through Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, who Amīn claims was able to translate Aristotle's book into Arabic and give it to al-Khalīl. That is because al-Khalīl died in 177 A.H./794 A.D., whereas Ḥunayn was born in 194 A.H./811 A.D.; that is, nineteen years after the death of al-Khalīl.

On the other hand, al-Mirbad was a market where people gathered and delivered speeches and poems and exchanged ideas regarding Arabic. Thus, it was a good place for grammarians to go and meet bedouins from different tribes; to listen to their way of speaking; to analyze Arabic and to lay down the grammatical rules accordingly (al-Jāḥiẓ, 1947, 3:323).

Thus, al-Masjid al-Jāmi^c and al-Mirbad were primary factors that helped grammarians to develop the study of Arabic in the city of Baṣra before it developed in the city of al-Kūfa. In general terms, al-Khalīl was the

first scholar to describe a method for the study of speech-sounds. He also studied the word on the morphological level, with all its prefixes and suffixes. Moreover, he studied words in sentences and what might affect their inflections and functions in relation to other words in the same sentence.

While al-Khalīl was teaching all of these subjects, Sībawayhi (188 A.H./805 A.D.), who became the teacher of the Baṣra school, and al-Kisāʿi (189 A.H./806 A.D.), who became the teacher of the Kūfa school both attended his sessions. Therefore, al-Khalīl can be considered as the inspiration for the two major schools of Arabic grammarians. But before discussing the methodology of both schools, I shall discuss the efforts of Sībawayhi in his book, al-kitāb.

B. Sībawayhi's al-kitāb

It has been shown that a work of the size and scope of al-kitāb was not without antecedents. There had previously been the efforts of al-Duʿalī and his students, and then those of al-Ḥaḍramī and his followers, and finally the studies of al-Khalīl and his group. Unfortunately, no work has survived from any grammarians before Sībawayhi. However, Sībawayhi stated the views of the grammarians under whom he studied, such as al-Khalīl, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and

others. Meanwhile, he would express his own ideas whenever he was not in agreement with the grammarians.

Sībawayhi did not understand the word naḥw 'grammar' as we use the term "grammar," nor did he use it in the way Arab grammarians did later on. Language for him was a way of doing things, and naḥw meant simply "a way of speaking." Because of this, the act of speaking is judged by the same standards as is non-linguistic behavior. He labeled the following features of Arabic (Sībawayhi, 1966, 1:25):

1. mustaqīm or ḥasan 'good Arabic' which is to be imitated, e.g., raʔaytuka amsi 'I saw you yesterday.'

2. mustaqīm kadhib 'correct - false', e.g., ḥamaltu l-jabala 'I carried the mountain.'

3. qabīḥ 'ugly,' just acceptable Arabic which could not be rejected, but which was unusable as a model because of its rarity or awkwardness, e.g., qad Zaydan raʔaytu 'I might saw Zayd.'

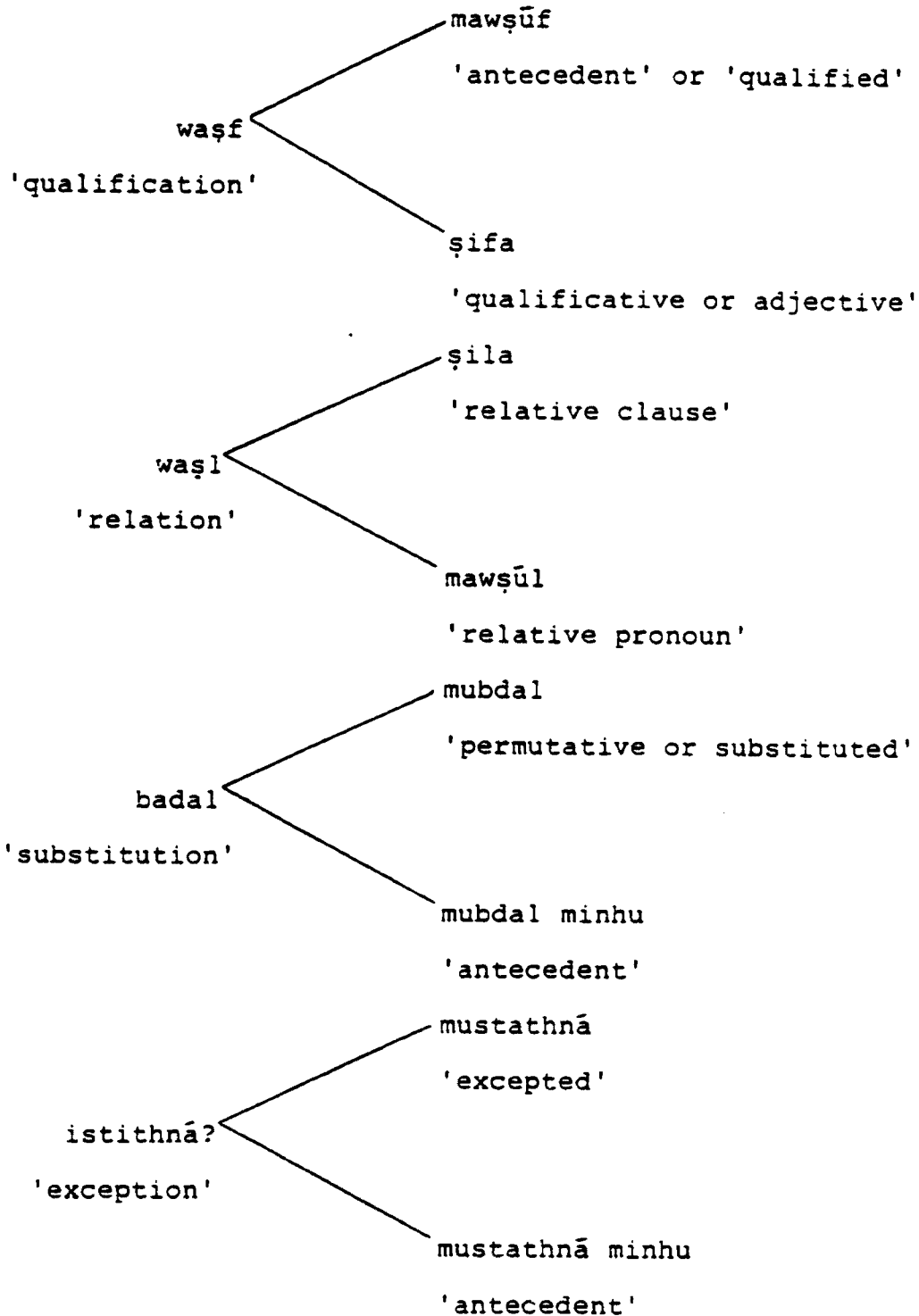
4. muḥāl 'illicit,' it is to be avoided and condemned, e.g., sawfa ashraḇu l-baḥra amsi 'I will drink the sea yesterday.'

The various processes of speech, e.g., describing, negating, attributing, excepting, calling, etc. are all recognized as acts by the speaker. Therefore, they are denoted by verbal nouns, e.g., waṣf, nafy, bināʔ, istithnāʔ and nidāʔ, respectively. Thus, if we want to understand Sībawayhi's theory of grammar, it is necessary

to keep in mind that he describes Arabic as a way of speaking, just as lawyers describe Islām as a way of behaving, and this is why he sometimes replaces the term naḥw by synonyms such as wajh 'approach,' ṭarīqah 'method,' madhhab 'ideology,' sunnah 'usage,' sharīʿah 'law,' and sabīl 'way' (Sībawayhi, 1966, 1:116,153,198,334).

He also based his analysis of Arabic upon general assumptions. One of them as Carter (1968:155) states is that the structure of Arabic can be expressed as a range of binary units. The unit of language in al-kitāb is not al-jumla 'the sentence' but your kalām 'what you say,' that is, usage. Carter adds that Sībawayhi would probably have agreed with Bloomfield's first definition, "An act of speech is an utterance."⁴⁴

Another assumption is that every function is seen to consist of two parts (Sībawayhi, 1966, 1:419-439). The following chart represents his assumption: (Carter, 1973: 152-153)



Moreover, when Sībawayhi speaks about meaning he does not mean lexical meaning, as some Arab grammarians

thought; on the contrary, he means grammatical meaning such as ma^Cnā al-ta^Cajjub 'the meaning of surprise'; ma^Cnā al-nafy 'the meaning of negation'; ma^Cnā al-istithnā? 'the meaning of exception'; ma^Cnā al-nidā? 'the meaning of vocative'; etc. (Carter, 1973:153); hence, the later term ma^Cānī al-naḥw 'the grammatical meanings' which we find, for example, in the works of al-Jurjānī which merely formalized what Sībawayhi left informal (al-Jurjānī, 1960:259).

Sībawayhi's book consists of eight hundred and twenty topics. These topics are not well organized. Sībawayhi moves from one topic to another and then comes back to his original topic. For instance, when he discusses al-ṣifa al-mushabbaha 'assimilated to the participle,' he moves on to the function of af^Cāl al-tafdīl 'comparative verbs,' then he goes to numbers and then comes back to al-ṣifa (Sībawayhi, 1966, 1:194-211). In addition, he does not discuss all that need to be discussed about the topic under discussion, but under different titles or chapters. For instance, inna and its sisters are discussed three times in three chapters (Ibid., 1973, 3:134-151).

Most of Sībawayhi's expressions are difficult to understand. Thus, the reader has to read the explanation several times to get the meaning of the terms that are used. We also see long titles instead of one or two terms to indicate the grammatical meaning of the chapter,⁴⁵

because the grammatical terms were not agreed upon by all of the grammarians at that time.

Sībawayhi justifies his ideas by examples from the Qurʾān and from prose and poetry but not from the ḥadīth, since some of the prophet's sayings were narrated by their meanings and not necessarily in his original words.

In general terms, Sībawayhi was the teacher of most grammarians who came after him in al-Baṣra, as they relied on his book in their studies. They were surprised by his book which made them think that no one can ever write anything better or similar to it. Al-Māzinī, for example, who was astonished by Sībawayhi's book said, "Anyone who wants to make a book in grammar after Sībawayhi should be ashamed," (al-Suyūṭī, 1907:88). This is why many of the studies after Sībawayhi were just illustrations or commentaries on his book.⁴⁶ Despite this fact, we can recognize two distinctive schools,⁴⁷ in al-Baṣra and in al-Kūfu, as this will be discussed in the following section.

C. The Schools of Grammar

Our interest in this section is to discuss the sources of study in the Baṣra and the Kūfa schools and their methodologies. Despite the fact that there were other schools in Baghdād, Egypt, and Muslim Spain, we will not discuss the methodologies of all schools because they were affected by these two major schools on one hand and the point is to discuss the situation of grammar which

made Ibn Maqāṭ criticize the grammarians' approach on the other hand.

1. Sources of Study in the Baṣra and the Kūfa Schools.

It was shown above that the foundation phase and the beginning of the development phase of Arabic grammar were done by the grammarians of al-Baṣra, such as al-Duʿalī, al-Ḥaḍramī, al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi. Then, some grammarians like al-Kisāʿī⁴⁸ (189 A.H./806 A.D.) who had come to al-Baṣra from al-Kūfa to study there, went back to al-Kūfa and founded their own school. The famous scholars of al-Kūfa school, in addition to al-Kisāʿī, were al-Farrāʿ⁴⁹ (207 A.H./817 A.D.) and Thaʿlab⁵⁰ (291 A.H./901 A.D.).

The scholars of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa were responsible for standardizing the Arabic language. Its grammar, vocabulary and literary usages were clearly defined after systematic and laborious research. In doing so, they followed certain exclusive criteria in order to eliminate deviant and allegedly substandard forms and to reinforce the usage of some prestigious dialectal areas of certain segments of the population and of a few rhetorical (oral or literary) models. The sources of data used by both schools were the following:

a. The Holy Qurʾān

The grammarians believed that this is the most correct source to depend upon in devising the rules of

grammar (al-Suyūṭī, 1973, 1:17). This belief was based on two facts: the first is that the Qurʾān was revealed to the Arabs in their own tongue, as was God's way with every Divine mission: "We have never sent any messenger except in his people's tongue" (the Holy Qurʾān, 14:4). The second is that the Qurʾān describes itself as a "clear Arabic book." Despite this unanimous agreement among the grammarians, the Baṣrans and the Kūfians did not agree on counting on all recitations of the Qurʾān, as it is narrated that the prophet (peace be upon him) said, "The Qurʾān was revealed in seven aḥruf 'tongues or languages'." According to Ibn ʿAbbās, those were the seven dialects of upper Hawāzin and lower Tamīm (al-Suyūṭī, 1935:47). Al-Ṭabarī (1904, 1:15) raises the question as to whether the Qurʾān was revealed in all or only some of the Arab dialects and uses the ḥadīth referred to above to argue that the Qurʾān was revealed in only seven, as the Arab dialects were too numerous to count. This made the Baṣrans consider only some recitations of the Qurʾān, whereas the Kūfians, however, considered most of them.⁵¹

b. Pre-Islamic and Islamic Poetry

The Baṣrans and the Kūfians used poetry as references and textual examples of the literary language which should be imitated. But they eliminated the eras of the poets who could be considered (al-Baghdādī, 1881, 1:3):

(1) The jāhiliyya 'pre-Islamic' poetry was considered the most eloquent body of texts of all.

(2) The designation poets who lived in jāhiliyya 'before Islam' and at the time of prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him).

(3) Muslim poets who lived up to the first half of the second Islamic century (150 A.H./777 A.D.).

(4) Muslim poets of the second half of the second Islamic century were rejected by the Baṣrans; the Kufans, however, accepted examples of those whom they trusted, such as Ibrāhīm b. Harma (al-Suyūṭī, 1939:17).

c. Arabian Dialects

The grammarians believed that the languages of the tribes were not on the same level of faṣāḥa 'purity of language.' On the contrary, they were fascinated by the features of Bedouin Arabic which made it different from Urban and closer to the language of the Qurʾān and poetry.

They accepted proverbs, speeches and other texts from Hijāz, Kināna, Hudhayl, Ghaṭafān, Hawāzin, Salīm, Ṭayīʿ, Tamīm, Asad, and Qays (al-Suyūṭī, 1939:19). Thus, they did not rely on Arabic from the tribes that mixed with civilized nations. It is reported by al-Fārābī (Ibn Khaldūn, 1930:489) that the tribes of Rabīʿa, Taghlib and Bakr in Irāq mixed with Persians; the tribes in Syria mixed with the Romans; the tribes in Yemen mixed with the Ethiopians and the tribes that lived on the east coast of the Gulf communicated with people who came from India and

China for trade reasons. This is why grammarians in general and Baṣrans in particular did not rely on some of the texts of these tribes. On the other hand, Kūfans relied on some dialects which were neglected by Baṣrans. Therefore, we find many accusations against al-Kisāʿī by Baṣra grammarians, as they said he brought corruption to grammar (Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 1931, 13:182).

In general terms, the Qurʾān, the pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry and the texts of the Badioun dialects were used as exemplifications of the grammatical rules which they invented and as proofs of linguistic and literary correctness. However, the grammarians did not cite from the prophet's sayings because they believed that the ḥadīth was narrated in its meanings and not in the prophet's exact words. So, to avoid accepting even one speech which could be narrated in its meaning, they rejected all of them. They did this despite the fact that thousands of the prophet's traditions were narrated exactly the way the prophet had verbalized them.

2. Baṣran and Kūfan Methodologies

In order to understand the methodology of both schools, I would like to point out the following main differences between them:

a. The Baṣrans counted on qiyās 'analogy' in the invention of Arabic rules. If they found a common expression, they would invent a rule for it, and then all

other texts which did not agree with this rule were either irregular for them or they would try to interpret them in a way which agreed with the rule they had invented. Below are three examples from the recitations of the Qurʾān which were rejected by the Baṣrans:

(1) Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, who was one of the seven recitors of the Qurʾān, recited the verse:

wa-ttaqū	llāha	al-ladhī
and fear	God	who

tasāʾalūna	bihi	wa-l-arḥāma	(al-nisāʾ, 4:1)
you demand	through him	and the	relatives

'Revere God, through whom ye demand your mutual (rights) and (revere) the wombs (that bore you) (Yūsuf Ali, 1982:177).

The word wa-l-arḥāma (accusative) is recited by him as wa-l-arḥāmi (genitive). The Baṣrans rejected this recitation and considered it irregular (Sībawayhi, 1966, 1:397).

(2) The people of Madīna recited the verse:

hāʾulāʾi	banātī	hunna	<u>aṭharu</u>	lakum
those	my daughters	they	purser	for you

(Hūd, 11:78)

'Here are my daughters: they are purser for you (if ye marry)' (Yūsuf Ali, 1982:535).

They vocalized the end of the word aṭharu (nominative) with the vowel /a/ as aṭhara (accusative) instead of /u/. However, Sībawayhi (1966, 1:397) said that Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ used to consider aṭhara as an error. Therefore, the Baṣra school refused to accept the recitation of the people of Madīna in this case.

(3) As another example, they said it is a weak recitation to recite shurakā?ihim instead of shurakā?uhum in the following verse:

wa-kadhālika zuyyina li-kathīrin mina
and also made alluring to many among

l-mushrikīna qatla awlādihim shurakā?uhum
the disbelievers slaughter their children partners

(al-An^Cām, 6:137)

'Even so, in the eyes of most of the pagans, their partners made alluring the slaughter of their children' (Yūsuf Ali, 1982:330).

This judgement of the weakness of this recitation was made by Baṣra despite the fact that it was recited by Ibn ^CĀmir who was the recitor of the whole of Syria at that time.⁵²

On the other hand, the Kūfans respected most texts and would try to analyze whatever texts they heard regardless of its agreement with common expressions. They also relied on recitations of the Qurʾān to invent additional rules of Arabic. Below are some examples:

(1) Kūfa accepted the coordination between a pronoun and a noun as in Ḥamza's recitation of the expression, "bihi wa-al-arḥāmi" in example (1) above. Thus, wa-al-arḥāma → wa-al-arḥāmi as another option. They also added that this was the recitation of Abdullāh b. Mas^Cūd, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Qutāda and Mujāhid. Therefore, it should be accepted (al-Zamakhsharī, 1879, 3:78).

(2) Kūfa permitted separation of the elements of the idāfa 'annexation' construction according to the recitation of Ibn ^CĀmir of the verse (3) above as:

awlādihim → awlādahum
(genitive) (accusative)

and shurakā?uhum → shurakā?ihim
(nominative) (genitive)

(3) The Kūfans accepted Nāfi^C's recitation of the verse:

wa-laqaḍ	makkannākum	fī	al-arḍi	wa
and have	placed you	on	earth	and
ja ^C alnā	lakum	fīhā	ma ^C āyisha	
we provided for you on it source of life				

(al-A^CArāf, 7:10)

'It is we who have placed you with authority on earth and provided you therein with means for the fulfillment of your life' (Yūsuf Ali, 1982:342)

Nāfi^C recited ma^Cāyisha as ma^Cā?isha; thus, he changed /y/ to /?/ and because of this the Baṣrans rejected his recitation and accused him of not knowing grammar. The Kūfans, however, accepted his recitation because he was one of the famous seven reciters of the Qur?ān.

The above examples do not mean that the Kūfans did not use qiyās 'analogy.'⁵³ On the contrary, they used it in many cases, but they respected the recitations of the Qur?ān more than the Baṣrans. Three factors prompted this decision:

(1) The city of Kūfa was a place where many of the prophet's companions lived, such as Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Abdullāh b. Mas^Cūd, and their students who met them and studied under them.

(2) Many of the recitors of the Qurʾān were in al-Kūfa, such as ʿĀṣim b. Abī al-Najūd, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, and al-Kisāʾī.

(3) The founder of the Kūfa school was al-Kisāʾī, who himself was one of the recitors of the Qurʾān.

Since the differences between recitations reflected differences between dialects, and since understanding the Qurʾān was one of the main causes which made grammarians start this science, it appears reasonable to take them into consideration.

b. Kūfa accepted most texts which came from Arabian tribes. Even if they found a unique example, they would analyze it and consider it in devising grammatical rules. Baṣra, however, did not depend on single accounts or individual proverbs. On the contrary, they followed certain exclusive criteria before devising a rule from a text. For instance, a text should be among common expressions and agree with other rules which they had invented; otherwise, it would be rejected or considered irregular. Thus, it appears that the Baṣrans were more systematic than the Kūfans as Abdulrahmān al-Sayyid (1968:148) claims, but I think that this was at the expense of often equally legitimate forms. For instance, they mistrusted some verses of the poems of al-Nābigha,⁵⁴ who was a pre-Islamic poet, while they trusted other poets. As another example, they accused al-Farazdaq,⁵⁵ who was an Islamic poet, of making grammatical errors

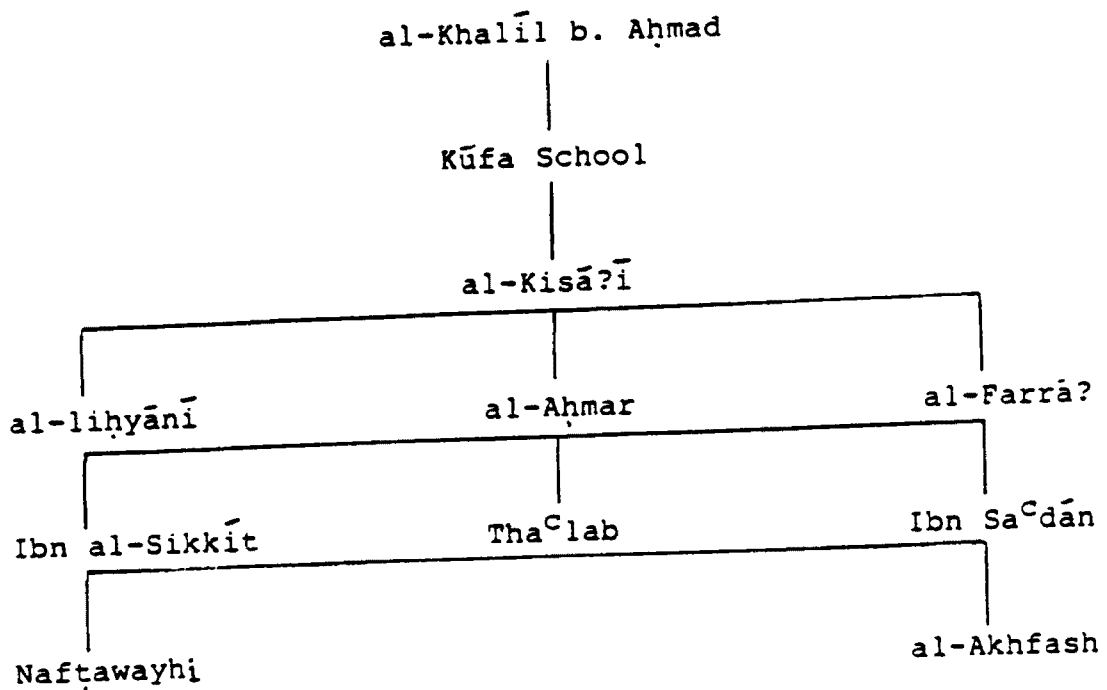
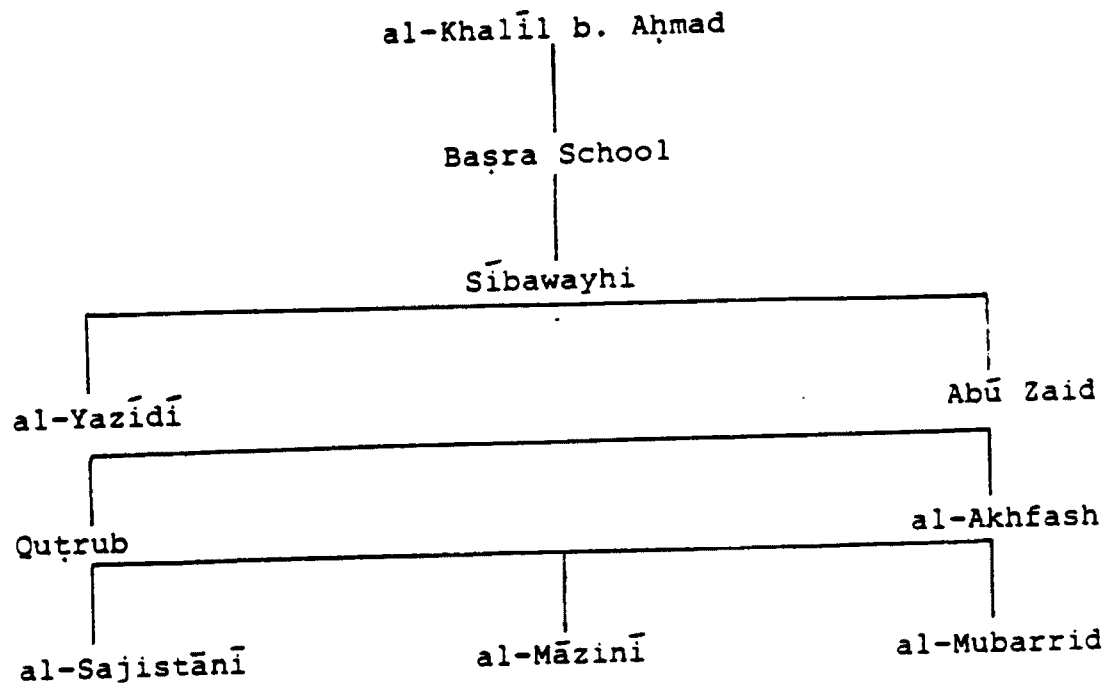
while they depended on some other Islamic poets. I can explain this by saying that Baṣra grammarians bound themselves with the rules they had invented and ignored the few texts which might go against their rules, regardless of the correctness of these exceptions.

C. The Baṣrans' approach counted on logic, hypothesis and assumptions⁵⁶ in order to explain the examples which violated their rules. They also used made-up examples to explain their rules if they did not find trustful texts. The Kūfans, however, depended on narrations and texts more than any other thing. Thus, the Kūfans accepted more texts than the Baṣrans. This is why the Baṣrans refused to take narrations from Kūfa as Baṣrans did not trust the Kūfan texts.⁵⁷

The above points do not lead us to claim that the Kūfans did not use assumptions, hypothesis and analogy at all.⁵⁸ On the contrary, they did use them but less than the Baṣrans, as we mentioned. In addition to that, we do not claim that the Kūfans' approach was better than the Baṣrans', but we do mean that the Baṣrans' approach was closer to that of the rule makers than was that of the Kūfans. On the other hand, the Kūfans' methodology was closer to the nature of the study of language than the Baṣrans' because they needed at that time to know the rules of the language. The Baṣrans' ideas influenced others more than did the Kūfans'. Thus, most grammarians

until recent times have depended on the Baṣrans' methodology when they analyze Arabic.

Despite these differences in the Baṣra and Kūfa methodologies, both of them--at least later on--looked at grammar as the study of inflectional changes and of the reasons which cause these changes. In other words, it is the study of regents which affect word inflections and the use of analogy to invent rules. Most grammarians were affected by this view and applied it in one way or another. Even al-Jurjānī, who invented the theory of nazm⁵⁹ 'discourse,' was under that influence when he wrote his book, al-ʿawāmil al-miʿa 'the one hundred regents.' This direction of the study of grammar made Ibn Maḍāʾī criticize the grammarians through discussing the basic foundations of grammar, which will be analyzed in the following chapters.



Notes to Chapter Two

1. For further study about Semitic languages, see the following:
 - a. Brockelmann, 1977, fiqh al-lughāt al-sāmiyya. 'Philology of the Semitic languages' translated into Arabic by Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, University of Riyadh publication.
 - b. Delacy, O'leary, 1969, Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, Amsterdam.
 - c. Diakonov, 1965, Semito-Hamitic Languages, Moscow.
 - d. Gray, L.H., 1971, Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics, New York.
 - e. Joshua, Blau, 1965, The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic, Oxford University Press.
2. The South Semitic branch includes two sub-groups:
 - a. South Arabian (comprising ancient Sabaean, Minaean, Qatabanian, Hadramitic, etc., in Yemen and Southern Hadramawt and modern Mehri in Northern Hadramawt and the language of the Island of Soqatra); contrary to a widespread assumption, ancient South-Arabian is a language-group quite different from Arabic.
 - b. Ethiopian (comprising ancient Ethiopic or Geʿez, modern Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Harari, and Gurage): Encyclopedia of Islam, V.1, 1954, p. 562, under ʿArabiyya.
3. Northwest Semitic languages are: Hebrew, Ugaritic and Aramaic. See Mary Bateson, 1967, Arabic Language Handbook: 50-52, Washington Center for Applied Linguistics.
4. E. Ullendorff, 1955, Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. See also I. al-Yāsīn, 1952, Lexical Relation between Ugaritic and Arabic
5. The Baṣra school, for instance, restricted the tribes whose speech they would accept. They accepted citation from Hijāz, Kināna, Hudhayl, Ghaṭafān, Hawāzin, Ṭayī?, Tamīm, Asad and Qays. However, the Kūfans included dialects which were neglected by the Baṣrans, such as some tribes of Baghdād and Asad. See al-Suyūṭī, 1939, al-iqtirāḥ fī uṣūl al-naḥw 'The suggestion of the origin of Grammar.'
6. Abdulʿāl Sālim (1965:96) thinks that CA was the language of Quraysh because it was the language of the Qurʾān. Also, Ḥasan ʿAwn (1951:42) claims that the language of Quraysh was the language of all the tribes after it dominated the others.

7. For further study about the beginning of CA, see Corriente, 1976:62-98; Ferguson, 1978:616-630; and Rabin, 1978:19-37.
8. A list of views in Rabin, 1951, Ancient West Arabian. An interesting new suggestion is that of W. Caskel that settled populations of N.W. Arabia and was transported into central Arabia as part of the process of Bedouinization in, "Studies in Islamic Cultural History," Amer. Anthropol. Assoc., No. 76, April 1954, p. 43.
9. See about these dialects Ibn Ya^Cīsh, sharh al-mufasssal, V.9:107, and Ibrāhīm Anīs, 1965, al-lahajāt al-^CArabiyya, p. 75-79.
- 10 & 11. It is narrated that Abū Zayd heard ^CAmr b. ^CUbayd reading words with pronouncing the glottal stop, so he thought that ^CAmr was making errors. Then he heard the same thing from many other Arabs; therefore, he knew that it was allowed. See about this story and the recitations of Qurʾān Abdo al-Rājiḥī, 1968, al-lahajāt al-^CArabiyya fī al-qirāʾāt al-Qurʾāniyya, 'The Arabic Dialects in the Qurʾanic Recitations.'
12. In this dissertation I make a distinction between fushā Arabic and classical Arabic. Classical Arabic materials are all of the texts of the Qurʾān, the poetry, the ḥadīth and the well-known speeches before Islam and in the first two centuries of Islam. However, fushā Arabic materials are the texts which are considered correct by the grammarians among the CA materials at the time of establishing the grammatical rules of Arabic.
13. The verse is in the Qurʾān, Sūra 21:3. The translation into English is from Yūsuf Ali, 1982, p. 822.
14. Sūra 5:74, Yūsuf Ali, p. 266.
15. This ḥadīth is narrated by Mālik in al-muwattaʾ. Also, it is an example in sharh Ibn ^CAqīl of the dialect which was called, "lughat yata^Caqabūna," 'the language of yata^Caqabuna' or "lughat akalūnī al-barāghīth," which was the dialect of Azd, Tayʿ and Bilḥarth b. Ka^Cb. See sharh Ibn ^CAqīl, V.1:473.
16. This is said by Abdullah b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt when he bewailed Muṣ^Cab b. al-Zubair. Ibid., p. 469.

17. Ibn ^CAqīl comments on this poem by saying that the poet is not known despite the fact that many grammarians mentioned the verse. Ibid., p. 470.
18. This is said by Abū Abdul Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Abdullāh al-^CUtbi. Ibid., p. 471.
19. See about gender in Arabic Sībawayhi, 1977, al-kitāb 'the book,' V.2:179-211, V.3:147,216,325; and al-Suyūṭī, 1980, V.6:61-76.
20. The verse from the Qurʾān, Sūra 2:31. The translation is from Yūsuf Ali, p. 24.
21. The Qurʾān, Sūra 27:18. The translation is from Yūsuf Ali, p. 977.
22. This form is different from dialect to dialect. For instance, the dual ends in -ayn in most of the Lebanese dialects and in -ēn in many of the other Arab dialects.
23. See Ibrāhīm Anīs, 1965: 231 and Abdo al-Rājiḥī, 1968: 184-186.
24. I quoted Muṣṭafā's ideas from Abdul Raḥmān al-Sayyid, 1968 :53.
25. This quotation is from al-Zubaydī, 1973 :21.
26. The story of this spread in its early stages, and the emergence of the colloquial languages in the Arabic-speaking countries is a long and interesting one. See S. Fayṣal, 1952, al-mujtama^Cāt al-islāmiyya, 'The Islamic Societies.'
27. Examples of these changes are given by al-Suyūṭī, 1939 : 294-302.
28. See about these characteristics J. Cantineau, Bulletin de la societe linguistique, 1952 :112.
29. See about the ancient dialects Ibrāhīm Anīs, 1965, fī al-lahajāt al-^CArabiyya and Abdo al-Rājiḥī, 1968, al-lahajāt al-^CArabiyya fī al-qirāʾāt al-Qurʾāniyya, 'The Arabic dialects in the recitations of the Qurʾān.'

30. Even in the Qurʾān there are many words which are used in their original foreign forms. This made al-Suyūṭī write a book about foreign words in the Qurʾān. See al-Suyūṭī, N.D., al-muhadhab fī mā waqaʿa fī al-Qurʾān min l-muʿarrab, 'Arabized words in the Qurʾān.'
31. For further details about al-Duʿalī's life, see Ibn Khallikān, 1948, wafayāt al-aʿyān, 'The death of well-known people,' 1:12; al-Jāhiz, 1949, al-bayān wa-al-tabyīn, 1:110; al-Suyūṭī, 1964, bughyat al-wuʿā, 2:216; Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971, al-fihrist, 1:374; Ibn Sallām, 1974, ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ, 'The classes of the famous poets.'
32. The Arabic letters as we know them today are made up of lines and points. The ancient Arabic script did not have points but consisted of strokes only. The addition of points to the plain writing of strokes helped to distinguish the various letters which could be easily mixed up. Example:
 read as KBYR كبير , KÖYR كثير , KNBR كنبر
 etc., without iʿjām 'points,' this word cannot be easily recognized. This kind of iʿjām was created after al-Duʿalī by Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim who was one of al-Duʿalī's students.
33. For his biography see al-Sīrāfī, 1939, akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-Basriyyīn, 'The biographies of Basra grammarians,' 20-21; Ibn al-Anbārī, 1967, nuzhat al-alibbāʾ, p. 17; al-Zubaydī, 1971, ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-al-lughawiyyīn, 'The classes of the linguists and grammarians,' p. 27.
34. See for his biography al-Sīrāfī, 1939, akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-Basriyyīn, p. 21-22; Ibn Saʿd, 1938, al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā, 'The big classes,' 5:283.
35. See for his biography al-Sīrāfī, 1939 : 22; al-Suyūṭī, 1964, 2:345; al-Zubaydī, 1971 : 28; Ibn Sallām, 1974, 1:13.
36. There are several accounts which indicate that people used to ask those grammarians about specific grammatical problems. Even a governor like al-Ḥajjāj asked Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmur a grammatical question regarding a verse of the Qurʾān. See al-Zubaydī, 1971 : 28.
37. See for his biography al-Sīrāfī, 1939 : 20; Ibn Jinnī, 1952, 1:369; al-Suyūṭī, 1964, 2:282; Ibn Sallām, 1974, 1:14.

38. See Ibn Khallikān, 1948, 3:155; al-Zubaydī, 1971, 40; Ibn Sallām, 1974, 1:16.
39. See Abu al-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, 1955, marātib al-naḥwiyyīn, 'The classes of grammarians,' p. 15.
40. See for Ibn ʿUmar's ideas Sībawayhi, 1977, 2:212, 3:143, and about Abū ʿAmr's ideas see al-Mubarrid, 1968, 1:158, 198, 214, 252, 254.
41. See for his biography Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 1939, 122; Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971, 64.
42. See about him Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 1931, 11:32; al-Suyūṭī, 1939, 245; Ibn Khallikān, 1948, 1:212; al-Zubaydī, 1971, 417.
43. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 1931, 2:64; al-Suyūṭī, 1939, 426; al-Zubaydī, 1971, 48.
44. See Bloomfield's definition in Language, (1926) p. 153.
45. As an example of a long topic, Sībawayhi (1966, 1:73) has the following title, "hādhā bābu al-fāʿilayn wa-l-mafʿūlayn al-ladhayni kullu wāhidin minhumā yafʿalu bi-fāʿilihi mithlu al-ladhī yafʿalu bihi," 'This is the chapter of the two agents and the two objects which each of them governs the same agent.' He means "the conflict of government."
46. It is narrated that 23 books were written illustrating Sībawayhi's book; 10 books explaining some problems of it; 13 books illustrating its examples; 3 summarizing books; and 4 criticizing the book. This information is listed by Abdu al-Salām Ḥārūn who edited the book (Sībawayhi, 1966, 1:41).
47. There are also other schools such as Baghdad, Egypt, Spanish; however, it is our interest to discuss the methodology of the two major schools in this chapter.
48. See about his life Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 1931, 13:168; al-Suyūṭī, 1939, 346; Ibn al-Anbārī, 1963, 39; Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971, 71.
49. See about his biography Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 1931, 7:10; Ibn Khallikān, 1948, 1:487; Ibn al-Anbārī, 1963, 59; Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971, 96.
50. See al-Quṭṭī, 1955, Inbāḥ al-ruwā, 1:144; Ibn al-Anbārī, 1963, 139; Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971, 110.

51. Ample examples regarding these differences will be given when we discuss the methodology of both schools in this section.
52. This is problem number 60 in Ibn al-Anbārī's book, al-insāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf bayna al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-al-Kūfiyyīn, 'Justice in the differences between Baṣrans and Kūfans,' 2:431.
53. There will be ample examples regarding this usage in Chapter Four.
54. It is narrated that ʿĪsa b. ʿUmar used to criticize al-Nābiḡha in his poems. See al-Sirafī, 1939 :25.
55. There are some accounts that al-Ḥaḍramī criticized al-Farazdaq and pointed at the grammatical errors in his poems. See al-Zubaydī, 1954, 26.
56. Ample examples will be given regarding this feature when we come to the problem of regent (al-ʿāmil) in the following chapter.
57. See Ibn al-Anbārī, 1963, 157 and Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971: 81.
58. For further information about the problems in which Kufa used analogy, see problems 9, 21, 31, 69, 86 and 89 in al-insāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf bayna al-Baṣriyyīn wa-al-Kūfiyyīn by Ibn al-Anbārī, N.D.
59. The study of the secrets of the Qurʾānic eloquence (iʿjāz) caused al-Jurjānī to write dalāʾil al-ʿiʿjāz, 'proofs of inimitability,' 1969 and ʿasrār al-balāgha, 'secrets of eloquency.' For further study about al-Jurjānī see al-Badrāwī Zahrān, 1979, ʿālim al-luḡha Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, 'The scholar in linguistics: al-Jurjānī.' There are also two forthcoming papers by Prof. Raji Rammuny entitled, (1) "The Role of al-Jurjānī's concept of taʿlīq in the development of Arabic Grammatical Theory and linguistic analysis," and (2) "Al-Jurjānī: A forgotten pioneer of Grammatical and linguistic studies."

CHAPTER THREE

THE ADOPTION OF THE THEORY OF THE CĀMIL BY THE MAJOR SCHOOLS

I. Introduction

Arabic is an inflected language which has markers for case and mood.¹ Nouns are inflected for case, gender, and number.² There are three cases for nouns: nominative, genitive, and accusative. Their markers³ are: /-u/, /-i/, and /-a/, respectively. For the majority of indefinite singular nouns, these short vowels are followed by a final /-n/, called "nunation" and signifying indefiniteness. Below are some examples:

<u>Case</u>	<u>Definite</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Indefinite</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Nominative	al-kitābu	'the book'	kitābun	'a book'
Genitive	al-kitābi	'the book'	kitābin	'a book'
Accusative	al-kitāba	'the book'	kitāban	'a book'

Dual forms are formed by suffixing /-āni/ to the stem for nominative case and /-ayni/ for both genitive and accusative.⁴ The masculine sound plural is formed by suffixing /-ūna/ to the stem in the nominative case and /-īna/⁵ in both the genitive and accusative. Examples:

<u>Case</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Nomina- tive	mu ^C allimāni	'two teachers'	mu ^C allimūna	'teachers'
Genitive	mu ^C allimayni	'two teachers'	mu ^C allimīna	'teachers'
Accusa- tive	mu ^C allimayni	'two teachers'	mu ^C allimīna	'teachers'

Imperfect verbs⁶ have three moods, which resemble the cases of the noun, insofar as endings are concerned. They are traditionally called the indicative, the subjunctive, and the jussive. They have the following endings:

<u>Mood</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Indicative	/-u/	/-ni/	/-na/
Subjunctive	/-a/	Ø	Ø
Jussive	Ø (-i)	Ø	Ø

The feature of ḥarakāt al-i^Crāb 'mood and case inflection' in Arabic received special attention from the grammarians, to the extent that some of them believed that grammar is the study of the changes in word-endings (Ibn al-Anbārī, 1971:10). However, Al-khalīl b. Aḥmad, who was Sībawayhi's teacher, said that /a/, /i/, and /u/ as vowels at the end of words are extra sounds which link letters to connect up the utterance (Sībawayhi, 1968, 2:315). Quṭrub (al-Zajjājī, 1959:70-71) expressed the same idea when he said:

wa-innamā a^Crabat al-^Carabu kalāmahā, li-anna al-
isma fī ḥālī al-waqfi yalzamuhu al-sukūnu li l-
waqf, fa-law ja^Calū waṣlahu bi-al- sukūni ayḍan
la-kāna yalzamuhu al-iskānu fī al-waqfi wa-al-
waṣli fa-kānū yubṭiʿūna ^Cinda al-idrāji, fa-lammā
waṣalū wa-amkanahum al-taḥrīku mu^Cāqiban li l-
iskāni li-ya^Ctadila al-kalām.

Arabs vocalized the end of words in their speech, because a noun needs sukūn 'absence of vowel' in case of pause; for if the Arabs had also linked words by means of sukūn, the sukūn would have been used in both situations, pause and non-pause, and this would have made them speak slowly. But when they did not pause at the end of each word, they vocalized and their speech became easier.'

In modern times, Ibrāhīm Anīs adopted Quṭrub's idea and expanded it in detail in his book, min asrār al-lughā 'secrets of language.' Anīs claims that case and mood inflections do not have any function except to connect words (Anīs, 1966: 204). He refers to two unconvincing arguments:

a. He questions ,without checking Akkadian and Ugaritic , why all other Semitic languages like Syriac, Aramaic, and Hebrew do not have case and mood inflections, while Arabic does (Anīs: 199).

b. He questions how we can imagine that in all of our daily speech and in all Arab countries we do not vocalize when we pause at the end of words. Anīs adds that this would not have happened if Arabs had pronounced word-final short vowels in all situations in the knowledge that case endings had meaning. Thus, Anīs thinks that Arab grammarians created the phenomena of ḥarakāt al-iʿrāb and that they adopted their rules through what is called

qiyās 'analogy' (Anīs: 200). I can refute Anīs's ideas by pointing out the following:

1. Arabic poetry depends on case endings and mood inflections. Without these we cannot call them poems.

2. The Qurʾān was revealed with complete vocalization.

3. The absence of case and mood inflections in modern dialects does not necessarily mean that Arabic did not have them in the past; the loss of inflections in the dialects is a comparatively more recent phenomenon.

4. There are some words in Arabic which do not have vowel endings and some others which do, even though they are followed by the same words. Below are some examples:

- (1) sa-yadrusu akhūka 'your brother will study'
will study your brother
- (2) lam yadrus akhūka 'your brother did not study'
did not study your brother
- (3) akalta khubzan 'you ate bread'
ate you bread
- (4) akalat khubzan 'she ate bread'
ate she bread

If the vowel endings after /s/ in (1) and after /t/ in (3) are for the purpose of connecting words, then where is the connecting vowel in (2) and (4)?

5. In some situations, inflections are markers for number and gender. For example, kataba 'he wrote,' the vowel ending /a/ indicates the third masculine singular.

6. There are examples which show that inflections have necessary roles in changing the syntactic function of the words. Below are some examples from the Qurʾān (Yūsuf Alī's translation, 1982):

- (5) wa- idh i-btalā ibrāhīma rabbuhu
and then tried Abraham his God
(acc) (nom)

(Sūra 2:124)

'And remember that Abraham was tried by his Lord'

- (6) inna -llāha barīʿun min.
indeed God dissolve from
(acc)

al-mushrikīna wa rasūluhu
pagans and his messenger
(nom)

(Sūra 9:3).

'Indeed God and his messenger dissolve (treaty) obligations with the pagans'

- (7) innamā yakhshā -llāha min ibādihi al-ʿulamāʾu
indeed fear God among his servants the scholars
(acc) (nom)

(Sūra 35:28).

'These truly fear God, among his servants, who have knowledge'

In verses (5) and (7), ibrāhīma and allāha are objects since they end in the accusative /-a/. However, rabbuhu and al-ʿulamāʾu are subjects ending in the nominative /-u/. The vowel endings in the above examples denote syntactic function as opposed to word order, which in this case is reversed. Without the vowels one would understand (5) as "and then Abraham tried his Lord"; (6) as "Indeed Lord dissolves (treaty) obligations with the

pagans and his messenger."; and (7) as "Indeed, Lord fears the scholars among his servants." But this is not the meaning of these verses.

This does not mean that only through inflections can we know the syntactic function of words in Arabic, but it does mean that inflections play such a role in some situations; this proves that case and mood inflections have more than a connective function in Arabic. This role of inflection ⁷ prompted most Arab grammarians to concentrate on the study of varieties of word endings and relate the change to explicit or implicit regents.⁸ In this Chapter, I will discuss the adoption of the theory of ʿāmil 'regent' by the Arab grammarians. Then, in the following chapter, I will present and analyze Ibn Maḍāʾi's criticism of the theory.

II. The Adoption Of The Theory Of The ʿāmil By The Major Schools

The theory of ʿāmil 'regent' is the core of the systematic theory of explanation for the declension of the case-ending of words. It explains declension or indeclension by the concept of ʿamal 'government' of the word. Whether this theory was from the Greek⁹ influence on the Arabic Linguistic thinking, or itself was from the religious¹⁰ thinkers, we find that Sībawayhi (1966, 1:13), in the early parts of al-kitāb 'the book,' sets the tone for the rest of the book is so far as the concept of al-

Ḥāmil 'the regent' is concerned. In the second section of the book we are told that majāri 'manners' of the endings are eight: naṣb 'accusative,' jarr 'genitive,' rafʿ 'nominative,' jazm 'jussive,' fath '-a vowel,' kasr '-i vowel,' ḍamm '-u vowel,' and waqf 'pause.' These are so because of what al-Ḥāmil does to them.¹¹ Both the Baṣrans and the Kūfans agree on the notion of the theory¹² and on some of its general rules; they sometimes differ, however, in its application.¹³

Thus, in Arabic grammatical theory there is a Ḥāmil 'regent' which is characterized by Ḥamal 'governing' of a maḥmūl 'governed word' in some case or mood. The effect of governance is manifested in the various inflectional endings (iḥrāb).¹⁴ The inflectional forms of a word change according to the change of regent, and this co-variation of regents and inflectional form to a large degree constitutes the basis of Arabic grammatical study.¹⁵ These regents may be lafẓī 'expressible' or maḥawī 'abstract.' Expressible regents are of two kinds: ẓāhir 'explicit' and mustatir 'implicit' or maḥdhūf 'deleted.' Abstract regent, however, does not consist of words but of a syntactic construction.

A. Expressible Regents

Expressible regents may be verbs,¹⁶ nouns,¹⁷ or particles.¹⁸

its governed noun is not. For this the grammarians assumed a mustatir 'implicit' pronoun to be its governed noun, namely huwa 'he.'

The verb governs its subject in the nominative case, as illustrated above. All other governed words, however, are in the accusative case. These may be objects, adverbial modifiers, predicates, etc., as detailed in what follows.

b. A transitive verb governs an accusative object in all the latter's positions: (a) VSO, (b) VOS, and (c) OVS, as in (11), (12), and (13) respectively.

- (11) wa - ikhtāra mūsā qawmahu sab^cīna rajulan
 v 5(nōm) 0(acc)
and chose Moses. his people seventy men
(the Qurʾān, Sūra 7:155).

'And Moses chose seventy of his people'

- (12) innamā yakhshā allāha min Ḡibādihī al-Ḥulamāʾu
indeed fears God from his people the scholars
(the Qurʾān, Sūra 35:28).

'Those truly fear God among his servants who have knowledge'

- (13) iyyāka_O na^Cbudu_V wa-iyyāka_O nasta^Cīnu_V
 you worship and you seek need

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 1:5).

'Thee do we worship and Thine did we seek'

The accusative object²¹ may be a pronoun as exemplified in (13) above, when /-ka/ 'you' (m.s.) is

suffixed to the objective particle iyyā-. Normally, however, the object pronoun is suffixed to the verb as in ḍarabtuka 'I hit you.'

c. A verb may govern various kinds of qualifiers, putting them in the accusative case. These include: ẓarf al-zamān²² 'time adverbial' like in (14); ẓarf al-makān²² 'place adverbial' like in (15); al-ḥāl²³ 'circumstantial modifier' as in (16); al-tamyīz²⁴ 'noun of specification' as in (17); and al-mustathnā²⁵ 'excepted noun' like in (18).

(14) Sumtu yawma amsi 'I fasted yesterday'
fasted I day(acc) yesterday

(15) jalastu amāma al-ʔamīri
sat I in front of(acc) the prince

'I sat in front of the prince'

(16) jāʔa muḥammadun rakibān 'Muhammad came riding'
came Muhammad riding(acc)

(17) taṣabbaba zaydun ḥaraḡan
dripped Zayd sweat(acc)

'Zayd dripped with sweat.'

(18) raʔaytu al-ṭullāba illā ʕaliyyan
saw I the students except Ali(acc)

'I saw (all) the students except Ali.'

d. Kāna and its sisters²⁶ govern both a nominative subject and an accusative predicate. This governance obtains regardless of the word orders, i.e., VSP in (19), VPS in (20), PVS in (21), and even when the verb is deleted like in (22).

- (19) kāna allāhu ghafūran raḥīman
was God(nom) forgiving(acc) merciful

'God is forgiving, Most merciful'

- (20) wa - kāna ḥaqqan ^Calaynā naṣru al-muʾminīna
and was due(acc) from us aid(nom) the believers

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 30:47)

'And it was due from us to aid those who believed'

- (21) muṣāfiran aṣbaha muḥammadun
traveler(acc) became a Muhammad(nom)

'Muhammad became a traveler.'

- (22) al-marʾu majziyyun bi-^Camalihi in khayran
person requited by his deeds if ~~good~~ (acc)

fa-khayrun wa-in sharran fa-sharrun
then good and if evil (acc) then evil

'A person will be requited according to his actions. If (he does) good then (he will be rewarded with) good, if (he does) evil, then evil (will be his reward).'

e. dāma 'to remain' and its sisters ²⁷ also govern a nominative subject and an accusative predicate; they typically occur in the perfect tense preceded by the particle mā and mean "as long as".

- (23) lā aṣḥabuka mā dāma aḥmadu
not I accompany you as long as ahmad (nom)

mutaraddidan ilayka
frequenting (acc) you

'I shall not be your friend as long as Ahmad keeps on frequenting you.'

f. ẓanna 'to think' and its sisters ²⁸ govern a nominative subject and two accusative objects.

- (24) zanan tu zaydan musāfiran
 thought^I (nom) Zayd (acc) travelled (acc)

'I thought Zayd have traveled'

These verbs, which are called af^Cālu al-qulūb 'verbs of the heart', govern two direct objects regardless of their order. But their governance of two objects will be cancelled,²⁹ according to the grammarians, if they are followed by what can be a mubtada' 'subject of a nominal sentence' or by an interrogative.

- (25) li- na^Clama ayyu al-ḥizbayni
 in order that we know which (nom) the two parties
- aḥṣā li-mā labithū amadā
 best at calculating for what they tarried period
- (the Qurʾān, sūra 18:12).

'In order to test (know) which of the two parties was best at calculating the term of years they had tarried'

Thus, in (25) above, the verb na^Clama governs not two accusatives but a proper nominal sentence, in this case the embedded question ayyu amadā 'which....tarried?' This implies that verbs of the heart govern a single structure in their deep structure but may manifest either of two structures on the surface:

na^Clamu [zaydun mustiqīmun] <
 we know Zayd (nom) straight

'We know (that) Zayd is straight.'

(a) na^Clamu anna zaydan mustaqīmun

(b) na^Clamu zaydan mustaqīman

g. There are regents which may govern three³⁰ objects. For example:

- (26) akhbar tu al-ṭullāba al-imtīhāna garīban
toldI(nom) the students(acc) the test(acc) soon(acc)

'I told the students that the test will be soon.'

h. There are regents³¹ which govern a nominative subject and normally a verbal sentence which fills the predicate position. These verbs are of three kinds: af^Cāl al-muqāraba 'verbs of approximation', e.g., kāda 'almost' as in (27); af^Cāl al-rajāʾ 'verbs of hope', e.g., Caṣā 'perhaps' like in (28); and af^Cāl al-shurū^C 'verbs of beginning', e.g., shara^{Ca} 'to begin' like in (29).

- (27) mā kid tu an a^Cūda
not nearly I(nom) to return

'I almost did not return.'

- (28) Caṣā zaydun an yaʾtiya
perhaps Zayd(nom) will come

'Perhaps Zayd will come.'

- (29) shara^{Ca} muḥammadun yalūmuḥu
began Muhammad(nom) blames him

'Muhammed began to blame him.'

The adoption of the theory of regency of verbs created several differences between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans. Below are some examples:

- (1) The Baṣrans considered it optional for laysa 'not to be' to precede its governed predicate.³² Thus, they said it is as powerful as any other verb which governs regardless of the position of the words it governed. According to them (30a) and (30b) below can also be (30c) without breaking the grammatical rules.

- (30a) Laysa ^Caliyyun qādiman
 not Aliy(nom) coming(acc)
 V S P
- (30b) Laysa qādiman ^Caliyyun
 V P S
- (30c) qādiman laysa ^Caliyyun
 P V S

The Kūfans, however, considered it obligatory for laysa to precede its governed predicate. They said it is true that laysa governs like other verbs, but it is less powerful than others because it is a jāmid 'aplastic' verb; therefore, weak verbs cannot be preceded by their governed predicates. Thus, (30c) is not grammatical.

(2) The Baṣrans considered it ungrammatical to form a sentence with the predicate of mā zāla 'not to cease' preceding its regent.³³ They justified their view by saying that mā is to negate something; at the same time negation particles must initiate sentences; therefore, the preceding of mā zāla to its governed predicate is obligatory. The Kūfans, however, argued that it is optional for mā zāla to precede its governed words. They justified their view by arguing that mā in this case negates zāla which implies negation by itself. They added that when one negates something already negated, it implies that opposite of negation, i.e., mā zāla has a martaba 'manner' of kāna 'to be' in this case; therefore, it is not obligatory for mā zāla to precede its governed

words just like kāna and its sisters. Thus, (31) below is grammatically correct in the Kūfans' argument, however, it is incorrect in the Baṣrans'.

- (31) qādīman mā zāla ^Caliyyun
 coming(acc) not cease Aliy(nom)
 P V S

(3) The Kūfans said that the verbal regent's preceding the governed circumstantial is obligatory if the subject is not a pronoun, but it is optional when the verbal subject is a pronoun.³⁴ For example:

- (32a) rākiban jā?a zaydun
 riding(acc) came Zayd

'Zayd came riding'

- (32b) rākiban ii?tu

'I came riding'

Thus, the Kūfans considered (32a) ungrammatical while (32b) grammatical, because the mustatir 'hidden' pronoun which is implied after rākiban must not occur before an explicit noun as this happens in (32a). In (32b), however, the hidden pronoun occurs before the explicit pronoun tu 'I' and this is permissible.

On the other hand, the Baṣrans considered both structures in (32a) and (32b) grammatical as far as the regent is: (a) a verb; (b) a derivable one and not aplastic; regardless of the pronomalization of the subject.

(4) Most Baṣrans³⁵ believed that the verbal derivable regent's preceding its governed accusative

specification is obligatory. They argued that the accusative specification is the actual fā^cil 'doer' of the verb semantically. And since the fā^cil 'subject of the verbal sentence' cannot precede its governor verb; likewise, the accusative specification cannot do so. Thus, the specification governed word ʿaracan in (17) above is not permitted to precede the regent verb taṣabbaba in the Baṣrans' opinion.

The Kūfans, however, rejected the Baṣrans' idea and stated the opposite. They argued by stating that if a regent verb is derivable, then its preceding of the governed word is optional.

(4) The Baṣrans said that the regent of the accusative object in a verbal transitive sentence is the verb.³⁶ Their argument was based on their belief that the primary regent is the verb. Nouns, on the other hand, primarily do not govern except when they resemble verbs. The Kūfans³⁷, however, said the regents of the object are both the verb and the fā^cil 'subject of the verbal sentence.' Their opinion was based on their stand that al-fi^clu wa-al-fā^cilu bi-manzilatī al-shayʿi al-wāḥidi 'the verb and its subject are in the position of one single thing,' i.e., the verb and its subject function like one word. Thus, in a structure like (33) below, kataba is the regent according to the Baṣrans; while kataba and al-tālibu are the regents according to the Kūfans.

- (33) Kataba al-ṭālibu al-darsa
wrote the student(nom) the lesson(acc)

'The student wrote the lesson'

(5) They differed also on the regent of the nominative noun which follows the conditional particle in 'if.' The Baṣrans assumed a suppressed verb after in which governs the noun.³⁸ For example:

- (34) in aḥadun istajārika fa-ajirhu
if someone ask your help then help him
(nom)

'If someone asks your help, then help him'

The Baṣrans argued that the conditional particle in precedes a verbal sentence exclusively; therefore, there must be a suppressed verb after in and before aḥadun in its underlying structure. That suppressed verb is identical to the explicit verb istajārika and it governs the nominative word aḥadun.

The Kūfans, however, argued that the nominative word after in is governed by the explicit verb and there is no need to hypothesize a suppressed regent while the verb is expressed. Their argument was based on their belief that the conditional particle in is a strong particle and this allows the occurrence of a nominative word directly after it.

(6) One of the complicated problems is al-tanāzu^c fi al-^camal 'conflict with respect to government.' That is, when two verbal regents precede a noun, which of them governs it? The Kūfans argued that the first verb governs the noun because of its initial position in the sentence.

(36a) zaydan akramtuhu
 Zayd(acc) honored I(nom) him(acc)

'I honored Zayd'

The verb akram is the regent of the accusative Zaydan in the Kūfans' view because the attached pronoun hu relates to zaydan. According to the Baṣrans, this sentence is generated as follows:

(36b) akramtu zaydan akramtuhu
 honored I(nom) Zayd(acc) honored I(nom) him(acc)

'I honored Zayd, I honored him'

Thus, the Baṣrans hypothesized a suppressed verb which governs the accusative noun in the initial position of the sentence.

All of the above examples show how the grammarians differed in discussing the regency of verbs, and how they were controlled by the rules which they invented.

2. Nouns

The grammarians stated that primitive and derivative nouns⁴¹ can be regents too. But these are secondary regents and not primary ones like verbs. The following rules are invented by the grammarians regarding different forms and types of nouns which have influence in changing case inflections.

a. Most grammarians agreed that the mubtada? 'subject of a nominal sentence' governs the khabar 'predicate' and puts it in the nominative case.⁴² The Kūfans, however, believed that both the subject and the

predicate govern each other.⁴³ Thus, (37a) represents most traditional grammarians' views except the Kūfans, and (37b) represents the Kūfans' view.

- (37a) muḥammadun nashīṭun
Muhammed(nom) active(nom)

'Muhammad is active'

- (37b) muḥammadun nashīṭun

b. A possessed item governs its possessor and puts it in the genitive case,⁴⁴ as in:

- (38) kitābu al-waladi
book(nom) the boy(gen)

'the boy's book'

c. al-maṣḍar⁴⁵ 'verbal noun' governs whatever its verb does. If its verb is intransitive, it governs a subject, and if its verb is transitive it governs an object as well. The grammarians⁴⁶ add that a verbal noun governs an accusative object if it is (a) mudāf 'annexed' to a noun as in (39); (b) has nunation as in (40); or, (c) has the definite article al-, as in (41):

- (39) wa - lawlā daf^Cu allāhi al-nāsa
and were it not checking(nom) God(gen) the people(acc)

ba^Cḍahum bi-ba^Cḍ (the Qurʾān, Sūra 2:251)
some of them by some

'And did not God check one set of people by means of another'

- (40) aw iṭ^cāmūn fī yawmin dhī masghaba
 or feeding (nom) in a day of privation

<u>yatīman</u>	dhā	maqraba
orphan(acc)	possessor of	relationship

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 90:14).

'Or the giving of food in a day of privation to the orphan with claims of relationship'

- (41) ^Cajibtu min al-dāribi zaydan⁴⁷
surprised I from the hitting (gen) Zayd (acc)

'I am surprised of the hitting of Zayd.'

d. ismu al-fāʿil⁴⁸ 'the active participle' governs a subject if it is from an intransitive verb and an object if it is from a transitive verb. The grammarians⁴⁹ added that for an active participle to be a regent it should either have the meaning of an imperfect verb as in (42) below or the definite article al- 'the' as in (43):

- (42) marartu bi-rajulin qāʔimin abūhu
passed I by a man standing(gen) his father(nom)

'I passed by a man standing his father'

- (43) wa - al-ḥāfiẓīna furūjahum wa-al-ḥāfiẓāt
and the guardians(m) chastity(acc) and the guardians
(f)

wa - al - dhākīrīna allāha wa - al - dhākīrāt
and the praisers(m) God(acc) and the praisers(f)

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 33:35).

'For men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much to God's praise...'

e. ismu al-mafCūl⁵⁰ 'the passive participle' acts like the passive verb, i.e., it governs the subject of a passive verb if it is intransitive as in (44) and the object if it is transitive as in (45):

- (44) hādhā maḥmūdun ʿamaluhu
 this good (nom) his deeds (nom)

'this one has a good deeds'

- (45) muḥammadun muʿtā kitāban
 Muhammad (nom) given book (acc)

'Muhammad has been given a book'

f. al-ṣifa al-mushabbaha bi-ism al-fāʿil⁵¹ 'the adjective which resembles the active participle' governs a subject as in (46) and an object as in (47):

- (46) ʿaliyyun ḥasanun waiḥuhu
 Aliy good (nom) his face (nom)

'Aliy is a good looking'

- (47) hal nunabbiʾukum bi-al-akhsarīna aʿmālā
 shall we tell you of lost deeds (acc)

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 18:103)

'Shall we tell you of those who lost most in respect of their deeds?'

g. ismu al-tafdīl 'the noun of preeminence' or 'the relative' normally governs a mustatir 'implicit' nominative pronoun as its agent like in (48) below. If it occurs after a negative particle, it governs an explicit nominative noun, as in (49). The grammarians stated also that it normally does not govern a direct accusative object, but its object should be preceded by a preposition particle,⁵³ like in (50):

- (48) muḥammadun aḥsanu taʿlīman min abīhi
 Muhammed (nom) better (nom) teaching from his father

'Muhammed is better as a teacher than his father'

- (49) mā min ayyāmin aḥabbu ilā allāhi
 no of days preferable to God
 fihā al-Ḥamālu minhā fī ʿashri dhī
 in them the work(nom) during ten of
 al-ḥijjah
 month

'There are no days preferable to God to work during them more than the first ten days of al-ḥijjah 'month.'

- (50) hādha al-ustādhu aḥlamu bi-al-naḥwi min
 this the teacher more knowledge in grammar(gen) than
 sābiqihi
 one before him

'This teacher has more knowledge in grammar than the one before him.'

Thus, the grammarians hypothesized an implicit pronoun after aḥsanu in (48), namely huwa 'he' which is governed by the relative aḥsanu. In (49) the nominative subject word al-Ḥamālu is governed by the relative aḥabbu. Also the prepositional phrase bi-al-naḥwi in (50) is governed by aḥlamu.

h. ismu al-fi^{C1}⁵⁴ 'the verbal noun,' which functions like a verb but it is not derived from it, governs a subject in the nominative case as in (51) and an object in the accusative case, as in (52):

- (51) halummū ilaynā 'come (you,pl.) to us.'
 come you(nom) to us
 (52) dūnaka al-kitāba 'take (you,m.s.) the book.'
 take the book(acc)

The grammarians added that these regents are less powerful than the verbs which they resemble, i.e., they do

not govern if their governed words precede them and they do not govern if they are deleted.

There are some differences between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans regarding the discussion of the governance of nouns. Below are some of them:

(1) Regarding the regent of the subject in a nominal sentence, the Baṣrans argued that the subject is in the nominative case because it initiates the sentence. The Kūfans argued that the subject and the predicate govern each other.⁵⁵

(2) A nominative noun which occurs after an adverb of place or a prepositional phrase is said to be governed by the adverb or the prepositional phrase according to the Kūfans; the Baṣrans, however, argued that it is in the nominative case because it is subject (al-inṣāf, 1:51). Thus, Muḥammadun is governed by the adverb amāmaka in (53) and by the prepositional phrase in (54) according to the Kūfans.

(53) amāmaka muḥammadun "Muhammad is in front of you."
in front of you Muhammad(nom)

(54) fī al-dāri muḥammadun
in the house Muhammad(nom)

'Muhammad is in the house.'

(3) The Baṣrans believed that ismu al-fi^Cl 'the verbal noun' must precede its governed word, while the Kūfans argued that this is optional (al-inṣāf, 1:228).

3. Particles

Particle regents are of four types:

- a. hurūfu al-iarr 'genitive particles;'
- b. hurūfu al-naṣb 'accusative particles;'
- c. hurūfu naṣb al-mudāri^c 'subjunctive particles;'
- d. hurūfu al-jazm 'jussive particles.'

a. Genitive Particles⁵⁶.

The Baṣrans and the Kūfians said that when a noun or a pronoun is in the genitive case and preceded by a preposition particle, it is governed by that particle⁵⁷, i.e., the particle is its regent.

- (55) unzila al-Qurʾānu ʿalā muḥammadin
 was revealed the Qurʾan on Muhammad(gen)
- bi - wāṣitati jibrīla
 by means(gen) Gabriel

'The Qurʾān was revealed to Muhammad by the Angel Gabriel.'

b. Accusative Particles⁵⁸

There are several particles which precede a nominal sentence and govern an accusative subject. These are: inna 'verily,' anna 'that,' lākinna 'but,' kaʾanna 'as if,' layta 'would that,' laʿalla 'perhaps,' and lā al-nāfiya li-liins⁵⁹ "no" of categorical denial.' The grammarians stated that these particles put their subject in the accusative and their predicate in the nominative. For example:

- (56) inna al-mu^Callima jadīdun
 verily the teacher(acc) new(nom)

'Verily the teacher is new.'

- (57) dhālika al-kitābu lā rayba fīhi
 that the book no doubt(acc) in it

'This is the book; in it is guidance sure, without doubt.' (yūsuf Ali, p. 17).

C. Subjunctive Particles⁶⁰

The particles which precede imperfect verbs and put them in the subjunctive mood are: an 'that,' lan 'will not,' kay 'in order that,' idhan 'in that case,' li 'in order that,' ḥattā 'until, in order that,' aw 'unless that,' and fā? al-sababiyva 'the causative fa.' All of these are considered regents by the grammarians. Below are examples of their function:

- (58) lan nabrahā ^Calayhi ^Cakifīna
 will not abandon(sub) on it devoting
- ḥattā yarji^Ca ilaynā mūsā
 until he returns(sub) to us Moses(nom)

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 20:91)

'We will not abandon this cult, but we will devote ourselves to it until Moses returns to us.'
 (yūsuf Ali, p. 809).

d. Jussive Particles⁶¹

The grammarians noted that there are particles which put following imperfect verbs in the jussive. Thus, they considered them regents. These are: li 'let,' lā al-nāhiya 'no of prohibition,' lam 'did not,' and adawāt al-shart 'conditional particles' such as: in 'if,' man

'whoever,' matā 'when,' ḥaythumā 'whenever,' aynamā
'whithersoever,' and kayfamā 'however.'

- (59) fa - l - yuʔaddi alladhī uʔtumina
then let he discharge(juss) that he was entrusted

amānatah wa - l - yattaqi allāha rabbah
his trust and let he fear(juss) God his Lord

wa - lā taktumū al-shahādata wa -
and not conceal(juss) the evidence and

man yaktumhā fa - innahu āthimun qalbuh
whoever conceal(juss) then indeed he sinning his
heart

(the Qurʔān, Sūra 2:283).

'Let the trustee (faithfully) discharge his trust,
and let him fear his Lord. Conceal not evidence;
for whoever conceals it, his heart is tainted with
sin.' (yūsuf Ali, p. 115).

On the other hand, many different points of view are
notable regarding the governance of particles. Below are
some of them:

- (1) The grammarians did not agree upon the
government of lawlā 'were it not for.' The Baṣrans stated
that it may govern nouns and verbs, i.e., it is not
specialized in governing one grammatical part of speech;
therefore, the nominative noun which follows it in a
sentence, like (60) below, is not governed by it, but it
is in the nominative case because it is mubtadaʔ
'subject.' The Kūfans, however, believed that it governs
the noun which follows it because the verb is deleted and
lawlā governs in the verb's place (al-inṣāf, 1:70-76).

- (60) lawlā zaydun l-ʔakramtuka
 were it not for Zayd(nom) then-honored-I-you

'Were it not for Zayd, I would honor you.'

(2) Regarding the governance of mā⁶² 'no one' which resembles laysa 'be not,' the Baṣrans argued that it governs a nominative subject and an accusative predicate exactly like laysa. They justified their opinion by stating that mā and laysa are similar in three things: (a) they both occur at the initial position of the nominal sentence; (b) they both negate what is in the present condition; and (c) the preposition bi may precede their predicate.⁶³ Unlike them, the Kūfans did not consider it a regent of the accusative predicate because it occurs at the initial position of the nominal sentences as well as of the verbal sentences. So, it is not a specialized particle. Thus, (63a) is grammatical according to the Baṣrans, while (63b) is grammatical according to the Kūfans:

- (63a) mā aḥadun qāʔiman
 no one(nom) standing(acc)

'No one is standing'

- (63b) mā aḥadun qāʔimun
 (nom) (nom)

(3) Kay 'in order that' governs verbs and does not govern nouns according to the Kūfans. They stated so, because they invented a rule which does not permit the regents of verbs to govern nouns too. However, it puts nouns in the genitive case in the Baṣrans' opinion.⁶⁴

They stated that it governs the interrogative noun (particle) ma and Arabs say kaymah 'in order that' the way they say limah 'why.'

(4) The Baṣrans assumed a deleted an 'that' after li 'to' which precedes the imperfect verb. Thus, the Baṣrans stated that the regent of the subjunctive verb is not li but the assumed an. The Kūfians contradicted this opinion and argued that li is the regent because it stands in the place of kay⁶⁵ 'in order that.'

b. Abstract Regents

The ma^cnawī 'abstract' regent, on the other hand, is not a verb, noun, or particle, but a concept which is invented by the grammarians to explain the i^crāb whenever the explicit or the implicit regent is not believed by the grammarians to stand for that. Examples:

1. ibtidā? 'initiality'

In nominal sentences where a subject is in the nominative case and no verbal regent precedes it, then only an abstract regent can account for the nominative case in the inchoate subject.⁶⁶ Thus, it is initiality that governs the inchoate subject in sentences like (64) and (65):

(64) maḥmūdun karīmun 'Maḥmud is generous'
 Maḥmud(nom) generous(nom)

(65) maḥmūdun jā?a 'as for Maḥmud, he came'
 (nom) came

The distinction between nominal and verbal sentences in traditional Arabic grammatical theory is based solely on whether or not the sentence begins with a verb. If it does begin with a verb, then it is a verbal sentence; if it is not, then it is a nominal sentence. Thus, both (64) and (65) above are nominal sentences and maḥmūdun in both is in the nominative case because of its initial position in the sentence. Moreover, in (65) maḥmūdun cannot be governed by the verb which follows it, i.e., it is not the subject of that verb because of the rule which states that the fā'il does not precede its governed verb.

2. Absence of Regents

The Arab grammarians stated that the imperfect verb is put in the subjunctive mood by the regency of subjunctive particles. Further, it is put in the jussive mood by the regency of jussive particles. On the other hand, when it is in the indicative there are no regents preceding it; therefore, the grammarians came up with an abstract regent by arguing that the imperfect verb is in the indicative because of the absence of regents.⁶⁷ For example:

(66) yaktubu al-waladu al-darsa
 writes(ind) the boy(nom) the lesson(acc)

'the boy is writing the lesson.'

3. al-khilāf 'dissimilarity'

The grammarians used this principle to explain case inflections, meaning that a particular word is in a particular case in order to be dissimilar in its function from the function of the word which precedes⁶⁸ it. Below are some examples:

- (67) maḥmūdun amāmaka
Mahmud(nom) in front of you(acc)

'Mahmud is in front of you.'

- (68) mashā al rajulu wa - al - baḥra
walked the man(nom) and the sea(acc)

'The man walked by the sea.'

- (69) jāʔa al-ṭullābu illā zaydan
come the students(nom) except Zayd(acc)

In (67) above, amāmaka is an adverb of place and in the accusative case. The Kūfans argued that it is in the accusative case to contrast with Zaydun which is in the nominative case. Likewise, they stated that if al-baḥra in (68) were in the nominative it would be in a conjoined position, but this is not the case here,⁶⁹ so it is in the accusative case. Further, if Zaydan in (69) were in the nominative, it would not be dissimilated from al-ṭullābu which is in the nominative case. Therefore, amāmaka, al-baḥra, and zaydan are in the accusative case because their function is inconsistent with the words which precede them.⁷⁰ Contrary to the Kūfans' view, the Baḡrans hypothesized a suppressed verb before amāmaka in (67), namely istaqarra 'settled.' Moreover, they believed that

the verbs mashā in (68) and jāʔa in (69) are the regents of the accusative words al-baḥra and zaydan respectively.⁷¹

III. Summary

To conclude this chapter explaining the theory of Cāmil 'regent' as it was adopted by the grammarians, I shall point out the most important rules⁷² invented by the grammarians⁷³ regarding this theory, in order to refer to them later on when we analyze Ibn Maḍāʾ's criticism of the theory:

(1) Every final vowel, in declinable words, is the result of the governance of a regent (Section I. Introduction of this chapter).

(2) Two regents cannot govern the same word, i.e., each governed word must have only one regent (Section A.1.g.(6), examples (35a) - (35d).

(3) Regents are of two types: lafẓī 'expressible' and maʿnawī 'abstract.'

(4) Expressible regents are of two kinds: ẓāhir 'explicit' and maḥdhūf 'deleted' or mustatir 'implicit' (Section A).

(5) Abstract regents are not words, but concepts that can govern words (Section B.1-3).

(6) Expressible regents may be verbs, nouns, or particles.

(7) The primary regent is the verb, so it is more powerful in governing than other regents (Section A.1).

(8) Normally the regent must precede the word which it governs [see examples (30a) - (30c)].

(9) If the regent is a strong one, it may be preceded by its governed word with the exception of the fā^cil 'subject of the verbal sentence' which must always follow its verb [see the arguments about examples (32a) - (32b)].

(10) Normally, the regent must never be separated from the word it governs. However, if it is a strong regent, it may be separated [Section A.1.b., examples (11) - (13)].

(11) The strong regent can govern in both cases; when it is explicit and when it is deleted [Section A.1.a., examples (8) - (10)].

(12) The jāmid 'aplastic' verb is a weak regent, so it does not have the power to govern in the same condition in which regular verbs govern [examples (30a) - (30c)].

(13) A word may govern and be governed at the same time. But two words cannot govern each other at the same time.

(14) Regents which govern similarly are believed to belong to the same group, such as kāna and its sisters, inna and its sisters, and kāda and its sisters [Sections A.1.d., examples (19) - (22) and A.3.b., examples (56) - (57)].

(15) The verb can govern only one noun in the nominative case (subject), but may govern more than one in the accusative case (objects, adverbial modifiers), [Section A.1.g., example (26)].

(16) A noun may be a regent if it resembles a verb semantically, e.g., ismu al-fā^Cil 'the active participle,' ismu al-maf^Cūl 'the passive participle' [Section A.2.d-e, examples (42) - (45)].

(17) A regent noun may govern a nominative subject and an accusative object [Section A.2.d., examples (42) - (43)].

(18) A regent noun becomes more effective (strong) in governing when it is preceded by certain particles such as interrogative and negative particles [Section A.2.g., examples (48) - (50)].

(19) Particle regents govern both nouns in the nominative, genitive or accusative and imperfect verbs in the subjunctive or jussive [Section A.3.a-d.].

(20) Particle regents must associate with a particular grammatical category, e.g., lam and lan are associated only with the imperfect verb. However, gad may be used with the perfect and the imperfect; therefore, it is not a regent.

(21) Particles may govern in different ways in different positions. Lā, for example, sometimes govern like laysa; as it puts its noun in the nominative and its predicate in the accusative, other times does like inna as it puts its noun in the accusative and its predicate in the nominative.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Arab grammarians distinguished between mu^Crab 'declinable' and mabnī 'indeclinable' words. See Ibn ya^Cish, sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal, no.d., 1:72.
2. It is not our intention here to explain everything regarding noun inflections, but only to provide a general overview.
3. The Baṣrans characterized two kinds of inflections: aṣlī 'primary' and far^Cī 'secondary'. The primary noun inflections are: /-u/, /-i/, and /-a/. The primary verb inflections are: /-u/, /-a/, and /-ǧ/. The secondary ones are: /-ā/, /-ay/, /-ū/, and /-ī/. The Kūfians stated almost the same thing, but by calling the primary ones as ḥalāmāt bi-al-ḥarakāt 'vowel-markers' and ḥalāmāt bi-al-ḥurūf 'letter-markers'. See al-Suyūṭī, al-ashbāh wa-al-naẓāʾir, 1939, 1:80.
4. The grammarians considered only /-ā/ and /-y/ as markers in these forms.
5. The grammarians considered only /-ū/ and /-ī/ as markers in these forms.
6. The Arab grammarians characterized al-muḍāʾirī^C 'the imperfect' verb the only verb which is mu^Crab 'declinable'. Modern linguists, however, consider the imperative as a fourth mood which is based on the jussive as the suffixed endings are identical.
7. Inflection is an approximate translation of the term i^Crāb. Originally it denoted the insertion of vowels, contrasting with i^Cjām 'the addition of diacritical points to distinguish otherwise identical letters'. See Carter, 1981:35.
8. The Arabic term ḥāmil may correspond to the English ones: regent, governor, or operator.
9. About the Greek influence on Arabic theory, see Versteegh, 1977, Greek Elements In Arabic Linguistic Thinking.
10. Carter (1968:100) thinks that the principles of grammar are based on the principles of the sharī^Ca.

11. Sībawayhi's views will be presented in the following sections, but to show just an example of his belief of the theory of the Cāmil, he speaks of a jārr 'preposition' which puts its object majrūr 'in genitive case', or of a nāṣib 'subjunctive particle' which makes a verb manṣūb 'in the subjunctive mood'. See al-kitāb, 1966, 1:55.
12. The general notion is that there must be a regent which causes an inflectional change on a word. This might have come from a belief that "there is an actor for every action and a creator for every existing thing" Abbās Ḥasan, 1966:186.
13. The differences will be illustrated in this chapter, such as: strong and weak regent, explicit or implicit regent . . . etc.
14. I^Crāb is defined by the grammarians as "the change in the final vowel of the word because of the change of the regents." See Ibn al-anbārī, 1971:10, Carter, 1981:40, and Ibn al-Nāẓim, 1923:10.
15. The theory of the Cāmil as we will see has affected the grammarians' study even in the titles and the arrangements of the chapters of their books.
16. The most fundamental classification of words recognized by the medieval grammarians is the well-known three-fold classification into fi^Cl 'verb', ism 'noun', and ḥarf 'particle'. The distinguishing feature of the verb is that it can co-occur with the following items: qad 'already' which may occur before either the past tense or the imperfect; sa and sawfa 'will' which occur only before the imperfect tense; the unowelled feminine /-t/ which is the suffix of the past tense; and the particles lam 'did not' and lan 'will not' which occur before the imperfect tense. See sharḥ Ibn ^CAqīl ^Calā alfiyyat Ibn Mālik, 1962, 1:16-22.
17. The features of the noun are: the vowel suffix /-i/ in the genitive case; tanwīn 'nunation'; the prefixing of /al-/ 'the'; the co-occurrence of the genitive particles; and it can be the subject of predication. See Carter, 1981:23-25.
18. The absence of any marker is the distinctive mark of the particle. See al-Zajjājī, 1982:55.
19. For further details see Abdulrahmān al-Sayyid, al-madrasa al-Baṣriyya, 1968:285 and al-Makhzūmī, madrast al-kūfa, 1955:318.

20. Our main interest here is to present the grammarians' views and this does not necessarily mean that we agree with them. We will express our ideas when we come to the evaluation section.
21. The term object is specifically applied to the direct object alone by the Kūfans. It is to be mentioned also that there are twelve bound pronouns which can be direct objects. See Carter, 1980:330-331.
22. Both of these are called by the grammarians maf^cūl fifi 'adverbial object'. Al-kisāʿī, however, called them ṣifātu al-zamān 'adjective of time' and ṣifatu al-makān 'adjective of place'. See al-Mubarrid, 1967, 4:328.
23. See about the circumstantial modifier, al-Mubarrid, 1966, 3:236-261, al-Suyūṭī, 1979, 4:7-61, and al-Zamakhsharī, 1904:61-64.
24. See about the noun of specification, al-Mubarrid, 3:32-67, al-Suyūṭī, 4:62-86, and al-Zamakhsharī, p. 65.
25. See about the excepted noun, al-Mubarrid, 4:398-428, al-Suyūṭī, 1977, 3:247-299, and al-Zamakhsharī, p. 67.
26. The grammarians distinguished between two main kinds of kāna 'to be': kāna al-tāmma 'the complete kāna' and kāna al-nāqiṣa 'the defective kāna'. Kāna al-tāmma is an ordinary intransitive verb which only takes a subject in the nominative. The meaning of kāna in this case is equivalent to waqa^ca 'to happen', i.e., to come to be, come into existence. Kāna al-nāqiṣa is a linking verb that takes a subject in the nominative and a predicate in the accusative. This subject is called ism kāna 'the noun of kāna' and the predicate khabar kāna 'the predicate of kāna'. See Ibn al-Anbārī, 1957:55, al-Zamakhsharī, 1904:119, and Wright, 1974, 2:99. However, Sībawayhi's view of kāna and the nouns which followed it is different from the later traditional one. He considers kāna a transitive verb like daraba 'to hit', which takes a subject in the nominative and an object in the accusative, which correspond to ism kāna and khabar kāna of later grammarians. See Sībawayhi, 1966, 1:16.
27. These are: baqiya 'to remain', zāla, bariḥa, fatiʿa, infakka 'to cease'. See Wright, 1974, 2:102.

28. These are: ẓanna 'to think', ḥasiba 'to reckon', khāla 'to imagine', za^Cama 'to assert', raʔa 'to regard', ʿalima 'to know', wajada 'to find', ittakhadha 'to adopt', ja^Cala 'to make', and sami^Ca 'to hear'.
29. This means that the two nouns which occur after them will not be in the accusative but in the nominative case.
30. Sībawayhi (1966, 1:41) believes that regents of this kind obligatory govern three objects. These verbs are: ʔarā 'to opine', akhbara 'to tell', khabbara 'to cause to know', anbaʔa 'to predict', nabbaʔa 'to cause to predict', ḥaddatha 'to talk to', and a^Clama 'to inform knowledge'.
31. These verbs are: (1) af^Cāl al-muqāraba 'verbs of approximate, e.g., kāda, awshaka, karaba, and arāda which means 'nearly or about to'. (2) af^Cāl al-raiʔa 'verbs of hope', e.g., ʿasā 'may', ḥarā 'perhaps', and ikhlawlaqa 'likely to'. (3) af^Cāl al-shurūʿ 'verbs of beginning', e.g., ja^Cala, ṭafiqa, shara^Ca, akhadha, aqbala, anshaʔa, habba, and qāma which mean 'to begin'. See Wright, 1974, 2:108.
32. The grammarians who said that it is optional for laysa to precede its governed predicate are: the early Baṣra grammarians, al-Farraʔ, al-Zamakhsharī, and Ibn ^CUṣfūr. See Ibn al-Anbārī, asrār al-^CArabiyya, 1957:58 and al-inṣāf, Problem 18, 1:160.
33. Al-Farrāʔ is the only Kūfan grammarian who agrees with the Baṣrans in this regard. See Ibn al-Anbārī, 1957:57 and al-inṣāf, problem 17, 1:155.
34. There are other details regarding this problem, but we tried to summarize the important views. For further study, see al-Suyūṭī, 1979, 4:7-61 and al-inṣāf, Problem 31, 1:250.
35. Al-Māzinī and al-Mubarrid are among the Baṣrans who agree with the Kūfans in this regard. See asrār al-^CArabiyya, 1957:79 and al-inṣāf, Problem 120, 2:828-832.
36. See about this problem asrār al-^CArabiyya, p. 37 and al-inṣāf, Problem 11, 1:78-81.

37. Khalaf al-Aḥmar who was one of the Kūfans had a different idea from the Kūfans and the Baṣrans. He said that the object is in the accusative case because it has a meaning of objectivity and the subject is in the nominative case because it has a meaning of subjectivity (al-fā^Ciliyya, al-maf^Cūliyya). al-inṣāf, 1:79.
38. Al-Akhfash was the only one among the Baṣrans who did not agree with the Baṣrans in their idea. He said that the noun is in the nominative because it is mubtadaʿ 'subject of a nominal sentence'. For further study, see Sībawayhi, 1:67, al-Ṭamakhsharī, p. 149, and al-inṣāf, Problem 85, 2:615-620.
39. See about this problem Sībawayhi, 1:73-79 al-Suyūṭī, 1979, 5:137-148, and al-inṣāf, Problem 13, 1:83-96.
40. See Sībawayhi, 1:80-84, al-Mubarrid, 2:76-82, and al-inṣāf, problem 12, 1:82-83.
41. Nouns are divisible, in respect of their origin, into two classes: jāmid 'a noun that is not derived from a verb' and mushtaq 'a noun that is derived from a verb'. Primitive nouns are like rajul 'man', faras 'horse', and ʿayn 'eye'. Derived nouns are like kitāb 'book' from kataba 'to write', durūs 'lessons' from darasa 'to study', and ṣiyām 'fasting' from ṣama 'to fast'.
42. Sībawayhi (1968, 2:126) says that the mubtadaʿ 'subject' is in the nominative case because it initiates a nominal sentence. The khbar 'predicate', then, is in the nominative case because it is governed by the subject.
43. The Kūfans justify their opinion by stating that each of the subject and the predicate does not exist without the other; therefore, each one depends on the other. See al-inṣāf, 1:44-45.
44. On the grammarians view, see Sībawayhi, 1:373 and al-Mubarrid, 4:136.
45. On the various forms of the verbal nouns see al-Mubarrid, 1965, 1:71-124, 2:124-130.
46. On the governance of the verbal nouns see Sībawayhi, 1:189-193, al-Mubarrid, 1:13-21, 2:124-130, and al-Suyūṭī, 1979 5:77.

47. This example is quoted from Sībawayhi (1966, 1:192). The Kūfans, however, denied the government of al-ḡaribi in this case.
48. Its normal form is CāCiC of the first form verb, e.g., kātib 'writer' from katab 'to write'.
49. The Baṣrans stated that for the active participle to be a regent it should be preceded by a negative or interrogative particle if it does not have the article al- 'the'. Also, both schools say that if the active participle does not have nunation it will be annexed to the noun after it as in: innaka jāmi^{Cu} al-nāsi (the Qurʾān, 2:9) 'you will gather mankind'. On this see Sībawayhi, 1:166-168 and al-Mubarrid, 4:155-157.
50. The passive participle of the simple form of the verb is maCCūC, e.g., maktūb 'that which has been written' from kataba 'to write'.
51. The grammarians stated that adjectives to be regents should be suffixed with a nunation or have the article al- 'the'. al-Suyūṭī, 1979, 5:92-96.
52. Ismu al-tafḍīl can neither be formed from the verbal adjectives of the passive voice, nor from verbal adjectives that denote colours or deformities, because they are themselves of the form af^Calu. If we wish to say that one person surpasses another in the qualities expressed by such adjectives, we must prefix to the corresponding abstract or verbal nouns the comparative ashaddu 'stronger', aḥsanu 'more beautiful', aqbaḥu 'uglier', and the like. Wright, 1974, 1:141.
53. If the form af^Calu is preceded by a negative particle, it governs an explicit agent, e.g., al^Camalu in example (50) is an expressed agent to aḥabbu. Al-Suyūṭī, 5:107-118.
54. Ismu al-fi^Cl has a semantic meaning of the verb and functions like it, but it is not derivable; therefore, it is less powerful in government than the verb; as it does not govern if its governed word precedes it. Also it does not govern if it is implicit. Some of these verbal nouns are: ruwayda 'to be careful', ḥalayka 'stick with', dūnaka 'take', wāḥan 'surprise', warāʾaka 'be late', amāmaka 'come ahead', and makānaka 'stay where you are'. For further study, see al-Suyūṭī, 5:119-127.

55. See section A.2.a. above and examples (37a) and (37b). Also see footnotes 42. and 43. of this chapter.
56. There are almost twenty particles which are called genitive particles (requiring an object in the genitive case), e.g., min 'from', ilā 'to', can 'from', calā 'on', fī 'in', li- 'for', ka- 'like', and ḥattā 'until'.
57. The only difference between the two schools in this regard is whether particular words to be considered particles or not. For instance, the grammarians did not agree on the classification of: rubba 'how', lawlā 'were it not for', mudh 'since', and mundhu 'since'. See al-inṣāf, 2:832.
58. We differentiate here between those which precede nouns in b. below and those which precede verbs in c. below. However, the grammarians call both ḥuruf al-naṣb 'accusativizing-subjunctivizing particles'.
59. This particle functions under the following conditions:
 - (1) It must negate a category.
 - (2) A noun must follow it directly.
 - (3) That noun must be indefinite and accusative.
 al-Suyūṭī, 1975, 2:193-195.
60. Al-Mubarrid (1965, 2:6-44) discussed in detail the conditions for the governance of each particle.
61. For more detail about these particles see Sibawayhi, 1973, 3:8 and al-Zamakhshari, 1904:252.
62. The grammarians who say that mā governs an accusative predicate call this particle mā al-tamīmiyya 'the particle of Tamīm' as they heard them speaking that way. On the other hand, mā al-ḥijāziyya 'the particle of Ḥijāz' does not govern the accusative predicate according to the people of Ḥijāz. See al-Suyūṭī, 1975, 2:109-130 and al-inṣāf, Problem 19, 1:165-171.
63. The grammarians also differentiated on the preceding of its predicate at the initial position of a sentence. The Kūfians stated that its governed predicate may precede it. The Baṣrans, however, argued that its governed predicate cannot precede it. al-inṣāf, Problem 20, 1:172.

64. See on the government of Kay al-Suyūṭī, 1979, 4:97-102, al-inṣāf, Problem 78, 2:570-574. Also Problem 81, 2:585-610 and al-Mubarrid, 1966, 2:7-9.
65. Al-Mubarrid (1966, 2:6) stated al-Khalīl's opinion of the imperfect subjunctive verbs in which he claims that the only actual regent of the subjunctive verb is an whether it is explicit or implicit. See also al-Suyūṭī, 4:139-142 and al-inṣāf, Problem 79, 2:575-577.
66. This is of course according to Baṣra school only, as the Kūfa school argued that the subject governs the predicate and the predicate governs the subject. See al-inṣāf, 1:44.
67. It is to be noted here that the Baṣrans argued that the imperfect verb becomes indicative whenever it occurs in the position of a noun. Ibn al-Anbārī, no.d., al-inṣāf, 1:74.
68. The Kūfa school said that al-khabar 'the predicate' is al-mubtadaʿ 'the subject' in the actual meaning. Thus, zaydun qāʾimun 'Zayd is standing' means that the one who is "Zayd" and "the one who is standing" both have the same referent. However, when we say zaydun amāmaka "Zayd is in front of you", amāmaka 'in front of you' does not mean Zayd. This is why it should be in the accusative. See al-inṣāf, 1:245.
69. Al-Zajjāj who was among the Baṣrans believed that a deleted verb is the governor and nothing else, e.g., lāzama 'to accompany'. See al-inṣāf, 1:249.
70. See on the governance of the accusative after wa 'and' al-Mubarrid, 2:51, and Sībawayhi, 1:299. Also see on the governed word after illā 'except' al-Suyūṭī, 1977, 3:247-299, and al-inṣāf, Problem 34, 1:260-264.
71. Not all of the Baṣrans stated that same argument. Sībawayhi (1973, 3:319) for instance, stated al-Khalīl's view on this topic which is the same as the Kūfans' view. As another example, al-Mubarrid (1968, 4:389) argued that illā 'except' is the regent here and it governs the excepted word.
72. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā (1937:22-31) stated some general rules with respect to the theory of regent.

73. As we discussed before, these rules do not necessarily mean that all of the grammarians believed in all of them. But the idea here is to give a summary of the most important rules which we may refer to them later on.

CHAPTER FOUR

EVALUATION OF IBN MAḌĀ?'S CRITICISM OF THE THEORY OF THE ʿĀMIL AND TAQDĪR

I. Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss Ibn MaḌā?'s criticism of the theory of the ʿāmil 'regent' and taqdīr 'suppletive insertion' as presented in his book al-Radd ʿala al-Nuḥā¹ 'Response to the Grammarians'; then I will examine the application of his theory to some topics in Arabic grammar; finally, I will evaluate Ibn MaḌā?'s views of having grammar without regency and suppletive assertions. But before doing so, I shall review the format of his book and the reasons which prompted him to write his book.

A. Format

Al-Radd ʿala al-Nuḥā consists of an introduction and six chapters. In the introduction (1979:61-63), Ibn MaḌā? starts by expressing thanks to God, prayers for the prophet Muḥammad, and invoking God's prayers to Ibn Tūmart² and to his successors.³

Then, Ibn MaḌā? (1979:63-68) explains the goals of his book and quotes Ḥadīth and poetry illustrating the reasons why the grammarians should follow his views and approach in the study of Arabic grammar.

In the first chapter (69-84), Ibn Maḍāʾ criticizes the theory of the ʿāmil and tagdīr. Thus, he calls for the abolition of both concepts. After discussing the concepts of ḥadhf 'deletion,' iḍmār 'suppression,' mutaʿalliqāt 'suspensives,' and al-ḍamāʾir al-mustatira 'implicit pronouns,'⁴ Ibn Maḍāʾ presents his theory to study Arabic grammar without regency. So, he applies his notions to four important topics of Arabic grammar.

The second chapter of his book is on al-tanāzuʿ fī al-ʿamal 'conflict in respect to government' (85-94). The third chapter is on al-ishtighāl 'syntactic deflection' (95-114). And the fourth one is on fāʾ al-sababiyya 'the causative fa' (115-121) and the wa of accompaniment (121-126), which puts the following imperfect verb in the subjunctive mood.

In chapter five (127-134), Ibn Maḍāʾ discusses the concept of taʿlīl and calls for abolishing most of al-ʿilal al-thawānī wa-al-thawālith 'the secondary and tertiary reasons.' And finally, in chapter six (135-139), Ibn Maḍāʾ discusses the made-up examples which are practiced by the grammarians and calls for abolishing all useless practices and impractical drills from Arabic grammar.

B. Reasons for Writing the Book

Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī wrote his book for grammatical, religious, and sectarian reasons.

1. Grammatical Reasons

Ibn Maḍāʾ believed that the contemporary grammatical system of his time had become fused and blended with superfluous, unnecessary and useless elements, and had lost its original simplicity and conciseness, resulting in complicated rules difficult to understand. He says:

wa-innī raʾaytu al-naḥwiyyīna, raḥmatu allāhi ʿalayhim, qad waḍaʿū šināʿata al-naḥwi li-ḥifzi kalāmi al-ʿarabi min al-laḥni wa-šiyānatihi ʿan al-taḡyīri, fa-balaghū min dhālika ilā al-ghāyati allatī ʾammū, wa-ntahaw ilā al-maṭlūbi alladhī btaḡhaw. illā annahumu ltazamū mā lā yalzamuhum, wa-tajāwazū fihā al-qadra al-kāfiya fimā arādūhu minhā, fa-tawaCCarat masālikuhā wa-wahinat mabānihā, wa-nḥaṭṭat ʿan rutbati al-iqnāʿi ḥujajuhā. (Ibn Maḍāʾ, 1979:64).

Verily the grammarians, may God's mercy be upon them, laid down the profession of grammar in order to protect the Arabic language from corruption and alteration, and thus they achieved their goal and arrived at the objective they sought. However, they imposed upon themselves that which was not necessary, and they went beyond the amount that would have sufficed for their purposes. Thus, the method of their grammar has become complicated, and its foundation has become weakened, and its argument has become short of convincement.

Thus, the main objective of Ibn Maḍāʾ's book is to get rid of these superfluous elements in the grammar and to simplify it, as he says:

qaṣḍī fī hādhā al-kitābi an aḥdhifa min al-naḥwi mā yastaghni al-naḥwiyyu ʿanhu wa-unabbihā ʿalā mā ajmaCCu ʿalā al-khaṭaʾi fīhi (Ibid., 69).

My intention in this book is to remove from the grammar that which the grammarians do not need and to point out the mistakes which are committed unanimously by them.

The superfluous elements which Ibn Maḍāʾ intends to abolish from Arabic grammar are: al-ʿāmil 'the regent,' tagdīr 'suppletive insertion,' hadhf 'deletion,' idmār 'suppression,' ʿilāl 'reasons,' and mutaʿalliqāt 'suspensives' as we will discuss later in this chapter.

2. Religious Reasons

Ibn Maḍāʾ believes that it is his religious duty to advise the grammarians, because the prophet Muḥammad said, "Religion is sincere advice," (Ibn Maḍāʾ, 1979:65). He also thinks that his advice is not for gain or profit, but so that a grammarian may find God's reward and recompense.

Ibn Maḍāʾ quotes several ḥadīths to show why he is prompted to write his book. He says:

ammā baʿdu, fa-innahu ḥamalānī ʿalā hādihā al-maktūbi qawlu al-rasūli--ṣallā allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama--"al-dīnu al-naṣīḥa"⁵; wa-qawluhu "man qāla fī kitābi allāhi bi-raʾyihi fa-aṣāba fa-qad akhtaʾa"⁶; wa-qawluhu "man qāla fī kitābi allāhi bi-ghayri ʿilmin fa-l-yatabawwaʾ maqʿadan min al-nāri"⁷; wa-qawluhu "man raʾā minkum munkaran fa-l-yughayyirhu bi-yadihi, fa-in lam yastatiʿ fa-bi-lisānihi, fa-in lam yastatiʿ fa-bi-qalbihi"⁸ (Ibn Maḍāʾ, 1979:63-64).

I have been prompted to this piece of writing by the words of the prophet, upon whom be God's prayers and peace, "Religion is sincere advice," and "whoever has given any opinion about the book of God, even though correct, is nonetheless in error," and "whoever has rendered an opinion on the book of God, not based on knowledge, may his chair be placed in hellfire," and "should one of

you observe a prohibited thing, he should change it with his hand, and if that is not possible, with his tongue, and if that is not possible, with his heart!"

Ibn Maḍāʾī's religious view appears also when he appeals to a reader to be attentive to his religion in order to let knowledge serve to bring him closer to his Lord. He adds, if a reader finds that this book shows him what Ibn Maḍāʾī demonstrated, he will return to it and give thanks to God for it. If it fails to do so, let him adopt a cautious posture toward the problem. If he has an opposing view, let him demonstrate what it is, either orally or in writing (Ibn Maḍāʾī, 1979:64).

3. Sectarian Reasons

Ibn Maḍāʾī expresses the motivation that prompted him to write his book. He could not accept the grammarians' practice of assuming words which existed at other than the surface level of the sentence, because this led them to assert that underlying words had to be hypothesized in order to account for certain recitations in the Qurʾān. For the Zāhirites, this practice indicates that the Qurʾān is an incomplete work, so Ibn Maḍāʾī as a Zāhirite⁹ has to reject it. This is why Ibn Maḍāʾī says, "to assert an extra meaning in the speech of the speakers without any proof which justifies it is an obvious mistake...to do this in the book of God...and to assert an extra meaning

in it without any dalīl 'evidence' is ḥarām 'prohibited'" (Ibn Maḍāʾ, 1979:73).

The grammarians' application of the theory of the ʿāmil 'regent' which involves ẓann 'conjecture' and raʿy 'opinion' is opposed by the ẓāhirites as the basis for theological judgements. The ẓāhirites attacked those theologians and jurists who relied on raʿy¹⁰ and declared that beliefs and legal practices must be based on objective facts. According to Ibn Maḍāʾ, the correct interpretation of the text or speech can be attained only when we approach it without applying raʿy, i.e., without adding any extra meaning or word to it (Ibid., p. 74).

Ibn Maḍāʾ and the ẓāhirites said that the text of the Qurʾān and the ḥadīth must be interpreted and understood in its ẓāhir 'external' or literal sense. They believed that if the jurist had to deduce a more general proposition from the individual materials, the lawgiver would have provided for this. In other words, the interpretation must be done exactly as the written words go; nothing more and nothing less (Goldziher, 1971:35-36).

According to the various schools of Islamic law, the Qurʾān, the Sunnah 'the Prophet's traditions,' ijmāʿ 'unanimous agreement,' and qiyās 'analogy' are the established basic sources of Islamic law. Although none of the Islamic scholars doubted the authority of the

Qurʾān as the first aṣl 'source,' and the Sunnah as the second source, ijmāʿ and qiyās were debatable. There were several questions raised by the Ṣāhirites regarding these two sources; what does ijmāʿ mean? Who are the scholars whose unanimous agreement is necessary?...etc. The Mālikites, for instance, meant by ijmāʿ "Agreement of the learned of the nation of Muḥammad in a specific age with regard to a legal problem" (Goldziher, 1971:33). For the Ṣāhirite school, the application of this understanding of ijmāʿ is rejected. Ijmāʿ cannot mean anything but agreement among the Prophet's companions. Furthermore, the school held that the consensus of the following generations, indeed, even the consensus of the tābiʿīn 'the generation who followed the Prophet's companions,' is completely irrelevant and that no doctrine can be derived from it.¹¹ So, they argue, the determination of the agreement of all competent authorities was possible only in the time of the companions who formed in one place a circle whose members and numbers were familiar to every one of them. But after the generation of the companions, the learned became dispersed throughout all countries and regions and became so numerous that they could not be enumerated. Therefore, it would be impossible to determine what they taught in complete agreement.¹²

Likewise, Ibn Maḍāʾ (1979:74) rejected ijmāʿ in grammar as he says:

fa-in qīla fa-qad ajma^ca al-naḥwiyyūna ^can bakrati abīhim ^calā al-qawli bi-al-^cawāmil, wa-in khtalafū, fa-ba^cḍuhum yaqūlu: al-^cāmilu fī kadhā kadhā. wa-ba^cḍuhum yaqūlu: al-^cāmilu fīhi laysa kadhā, innama huwa kadhā...qīla: ijmā^cu al-naḥwiyyīna laysa bi-ḥujjatin ^calā man khālafahum.

If it is argued that the grammarians have unanimously agreed on regents, even though they differ, some say that the regent in this situation is thus and so, while others say it is not this, but that, then we say the agreement of the grammarians is not an argument against those who do not agree with them.

To prove the invalidity of ijmā^c in grammar, Ibn Maḍā? quoted the statements of Ibn Jinnī,¹³ al-Jāḥiẓ,¹⁴ and al-Māzinī,¹⁵ which we will discuss later in this chapter.

Thus, it seems that the disputes between the four orthodox schools on the one hand and the Zāhirites on the other hand, is reflected in the study of Arabic grammar between the two grammar schools and Ibn Maḍā? al-Qurṭubī.

II. Ibn Maḍā?'s Criticism of the Theory of the ^cāmil and taqdīr

Ibn Maḍā? wrote his book, al-Radd ^calā al-Nuḥā, with the primary object of refuting the theory of ^camal 'regency' and taqdīr¹⁶ 'suppletive insertion.' In this section, I will discuss his criticism of this theory and in Section III, I will analyze the alternatives he offers to the theory of regency.

A. The Abolition of the Theory of the ʿĀmil 'regent'

From the first chapter in his book, Ibn Maḍāʾ (1979:69) calls for the abolition of the whole theory of the ʿĀmil 'regent' from the study of Arabic grammar, and the abolition of all rules which are related to it, i.e., the rules of the concept of taqdīr 'suppletive insertion.' His main concern is to present a new method in analyzing the Arabic language regardless of the notions of regency and its unconvincing rules. To prove that the grammatical concepts of government are false, Ibn Maḍāʾ presents the following:

a. He gives a summary of the grammarians' theoretical concept of regency. That is their claim that naṣb¹⁷ 'accusative/subjunctive,' khafd¹⁸ 'genitive,' and jazm¹⁹ 'jussive' cannot occur without a lafẓī²⁰ 'expressible' regent; whereas, raf^{c21} 'nominative'/indicative' may occur because of either an expressible regent or a maʿnawī²² 'abstract' regent (Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 69).

b. Ibn Maḍāʾ illustrates the grammarians' adoption of the theory of regency through their approach of analyzing a typical example like ḍaraba zaydun ʿamran 'Zayd beat Amr'; "the grammarians hypothesized that the nominative case of 'Zayd' and the accusative case of 'Amr' are caused by the verb 'beat'" (Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 69).

c. Ibn Maḍāʾī quotes Sībawayhi's statement, in the beginning of his book al-kitāb, in which he states that the grammatical regent which may be present or not causes the four categories of iʿrāb²³ '(case and mood) inflections.'

d. Ibn Maḍāʾī declares that Sībawayhi's view of grammatical regents which cause inflections is bayvinu al-fasādi 'clearly corrupt'; as it can be refuted ʿaqlan 'intellectually' and sharʿan 'in legally.' Ibn Maḍāʾī argues that the actor must be present when he performs his act, whereas inflections do not occur but after the absence of the regent. For instance, in verbalizing words like inna zaydan 'verily, Zayd...', Zaydan is not accusative except after the complete verbalizing of inna²⁴ (Ibn Maḍāʾī, p. 70).

e. If someone believes that the meanings of these alfāz 'utterances' are the regents, then Ibn Maḍāʾī responds that al-fāʿil 'the agent' among those who believes in the concept²⁴ can either be an agent²⁵ by will, such as a living creature, or by nature like when fire burns or water makes things cool. With respect to grammatical regents, they act neither by will nor by nature (Ibn Maḍāʾī, p. 70).

f. Ibn Maḍāʾī knows that there are some people²⁶ who might say that the grammarians' concept of ʿāmil is just for the purpose of approximation and to illustrate coordination of inflections and of regents. To those

people, Ibn Maḍā? states that the grammarians were not satisfied with this kind of explanation but rather expanded their theory to make regents govern even when they are deleted or suppressed, or when their governed words are implied or hypothesized.²⁷ Furthermore, the grammarians' theory led them to reject some utterances of the Arabs and to claim that what is complete²⁸ is incomplete. All of this proclamation by the grammarians was a result of the theory of regency (Ibn Maḍā?, p. 70-71, 78).

g. Moreover, Ibn Maḍā? quotes a statement from Ibn Jinnī²⁹ who said that the actual regent is the speaker himself:

wa-ammā fī al-ḥaqīqati wa-maḥsūli al-ḥadīthi fa-
al-^camalu min al-rafi wa-al-naṣbi wa-al-jarri
wa-al-jazmi innamā huwa li-l-mutakallimi nafsihi
la li-shay?in ghayrihi.

'In truth, and in summary, grammatical regency consisting of nominative/indicative, accusative/subjunctive, genitive and jussive, belongs to the speaker himself and not to anything else.' (30)

h. Ibn Maḍā? notes the difficulty of convincing people to get rid of the theory of regent while almost all of the grammarians have unanimously agreed on the notion of the theory; therefore, he claims (p. 74) that the agreement of the grammarians is not an adequate argument to oppose those who refute their theory. Then, he again counts on Ibn Jinnī's³¹ statement in which he states that, "the science of grammar is established from an investigation of the Arabic language. Anyone who has a

different view with a right proof or with a clarified analysis, it is up to him to be like al-khalīl³² or Abū Cāmr.³³

i. Ibn Maḍā? does not believe in the concept of taghlīd 'imitation/unquestioning adoption.' However, this was and still is a common principle among the four Islamic schools of law. It seems that many grammarians adopted this notion and counted on the grammatical rules which were invented in the first two centuries of Islam. Therefore, it is a difficult thing for Ibn Maḍā? to convince all of those who have this kind of belief in the importance of ijmā^C. So, he has to quote some more statements, for more arguments. Thus, he quotes from al-Jāḥiẓ who said (Ibn Maḍā?, p. 76),

mā Cālā al-nāsi shay?un aḍarru min qawlihim: mā taraka al-?awwalu li-l?ākhiri shay?an (34)

'There is nothing more harmful to people than their claim that previous generations did not leave anything to those who came after them!'

Furthermore, he quotes from al-Māzinī who said (Ibid., 76):

wa-idhā qāla al-Cālimu qawlan mutaḡaddiman, fa-li-lmutaCallimi al-iḡtidā?u bihi, wa-al-intiṡāru lahu, wa-al-iḡtijāju li-khilāfihi, in wajada ilā dhālika sabīla (35)

If a scholar states something, then the student has a right to follow it and to defend it or to argue in a contrary position if he can do so!

Ibn Maḍā?'s call to abolish the theory of regency led him to abolish the other concepts which are related to the

basic theory, such as: the assumption of the deleted regents, the assumption of al-muta^Calliḡāt 'suspenders,' the assumption of implied pronouns in derivatives, and the assumption of implied pronouns in verbs.

B. The Abolition of taqdīr 'suppletive insertion'

Ibn Maḡā? states that the grammarians did not discuss the theory of the ḡāmil only on the surface level of the language, but they went too far when they had to assume regents or governed words which are not expressed verbally. They did this in order to keep the rules which they invented in harmony with each other. This, according to Ibn Maḡā? (p. 71) caused them to resort to deleted elements which are believed to govern or to be governed by other elements in the structure. So, he calls for the abolition of the following:

1. The Abolition of Assumed Deleted Words

Ibn Maḡā? examines three types of ḡadhḡ 'deletion' which were practiced by the grammarians: known words, unnecessary words, and implicit words.

a. Deletion of a known word

This type of word is necessary to the utterance, but because the addressed person has knowledge of it, it is deleted. Below are some examples:

- (1) wa- ḡāla li-ladhīna itaḡaw mādhā
and it is said to those righteous what
anzala rabbukum? ḡālū khayran
revealed your Lord they said good (acc)

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 16:30)

'When it is said to the righteous: what is it that your Lord has revealed? They said "good."

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 663).

- (2) wa- yasʾalūnaka mādhā yunfiqūna ?
and they ask you what they spend

qul al-ʿafwa³⁶
say beyond their needs

(the Quran?, Sūra 2:219)

'They ask thee how much they are to spend; say: what is beyond your needs.'

(Yusuf Ali, p. 86)

- (3) nāgata allāhi wa-suqyāhā
camel God and giving her to drink

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 91:13)

'It is a she-camel of God! And (bar her not from) having her drink.'

(Yūsuf Ali, 1744)

According to the grammarians, the above examples have deleted words. They are: anzala in (1) which is hypothesized before the accusative khayran, which it governs; anfiqū in (2) which is assumed before al-ʿafwa, making it accusative; and qāla in (3) which is assumed before nāgata which it makes accusative.

Ibn Maḍāʾi says that each of these three constructions gives the addressee adequate knowledge of the meaning, in both cases: whether the deleted words are expressed or deleted. However, the deletion is better for eloquence purposes. This kind of deletion³⁷ is common in the Qurʾān (Ibn Maḍāʾi, p. 71).

b. Deletion of unnecessary word

In this kind the speech is complete without the deleted word; when it appears, the speech becomes defective. Examples:

- (4) a zaydan ḍarabtahu
is it Zayd(acc) you hit him

'Is it Zayd you hit?'

- (5) a zaydan mararta bi-ghulāmihi
is it Zayd(acc) you passed by his servant

'Is it Zayd, you passed by his servant?'

In an attempt to explain the accusative in zaydan in (4) and (5) above, the grammarians assumed a deleted verb before each of them as the regent of zaydan. Ibn Maḍāʾ argues that when such deleted words appear, the utterance becomes ungrammatical, as the underlying structure of (4) would be:

- (4) a ḍarabta zaydan ḍarabtahu

On the other hand, we will never find out the word which is deleted before the accusative zaydan in (5). So, there is no need for this kind of unconvincing analysis except for the grammarians' invented rule "every accusative word must have a regent which makes it accusative"³⁸ (Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 72).

c. Deletion of implicit words

To examine this type of deletion, Ibn Maḍāʾ first states that if the deleted word of this kind appears, it

changes the modality of the speech. Accordingly, it is always mudmar 'implicit' and never appears (Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 72-73). Second, he discussed several examples to show that the taqdīr 'assumption' of the mudmar 'implicit' word by the grammarians changes the whole meaning of the original utterance. For example:

- (6) yā ʿabda-llāhi
oh Abdallah (acc)

'Oh! Abdallah'

The grammarians assume an implicit verb, namely adʿū or unādī 'I call' before ʿabdallāhi. This hypothesis changes the whole meaning of the sentence from "Oh, Abdallāh" to 'I call Abdallāh.' Ibn Maḍāʾ examines other examples, such as the taqdīr of an 'that' (conj.) after the causative fāʾ which governs the subjunctive verb.³⁹ For example:

- (7) mā taʾtīnā fa-tuhadditha - nā
not you come to us and you speak(subj) to us

'you do not come to us to speak to us'

Here, the grammarians⁴⁰ assume the conjunction an 'that' after fa 'and' before tuhadditha-nā. For them, the structure will be: fa-an-tuhadditha-nā. Furthermore, this an is the an al-maṣḍariyya 'the an of the verbal noun.' Thus, what is implied in that example is:

mā yakūnu minka ityānun fa-ḥadīthun

'there is no coming and speaking from you'

And this has two aspects: one is mā taʾtīnā fa-kayfa

tuhaddithunā 'you do not come; therefore, how can you talk with us?'; and the other is: mā ta?tīnā muḥaddithan 'you do not come to us to talk.' Ibn Maḍā? (p. 72-73) states that all these assumed words in examples (4) to (7) are always muḍmara 'implicit' and never expressed, but their meanings are in the mind of the speaker.

Ibn Maḍā? criticizes the whole method of tagdīr by stating (p. 73):

wa-hādhihi al-muḍmarātu allatī lā yajūzu iḥḥāruhā lā yakhlū min an takūna ma^cdūmatan fī al-lafzi mawjūdatan ma^cānīhā fī nafsi al-qā?ili, aw takūna ma^cdūmatan fī al-nafsi ka-mā anna al-alfāza al-dāllata ḥalayhā ma^cdūmatan fī al-lafzi. fa-in kānat lā wujūda lahā fī al-nafsi wa-lā li-l?alfāzi al-dāllati ḥalayhā wujūdun fī al-qawli, fa-mā alladhī yaṣību idhan? wa-mā alladhī yuḍmaru? wa-nisbatu al-ḥamali ilā ma^cdūmin ḥalā al-itlāqi muḥālun! fa-in qīla: inna ma^cānī hādhihi al-alfāzi al-maḥdhūfati mawjūdātun fī nafsi al-qā?il, wa-inna al-kalāma bihā yatimmu, wa-innahā juz?un min al-kalāmi al-qā?imi bi-al-nafsi al-madluli ḥalayhi bi-al-lafzi illā annahā ḥudhifat il-alfāzu al-dāllatu ḥalayhā ijāzan, ka-mā ḥudhifat min-mā yajūzu iḥḥāruhu ijāzan, lazima an yakūna al-kalāmu nāqīṣan, wa?an lā yatimma illā bihā, li-annahā juz?un minhu, wa-zidnā fī kalāmi al-qā?ilīna mā lam yalfuḥū bihi, wa-lā dallanā ḥalayhi dalīlun illā iddi^cā?u: anna kulla maṣṣubīn fa-lā budda lahu min nāṣibīn lafziyyīn.

These implicit words whose appearance is not allowed must belong to either of the two cases, namely, either they are not existent in the utterance, but their meanings exist in the mind of the speaker, or they do not exist, like the words whose verbal expressions are non-existent. If their implicit words do not exist in the mind, nor their verbal expressions in the speech, then what is it that makes verbs subjunctive in the utterance? What is it that gives the implicit meaning? It is impossible to ascribe the regency to a non-existent word.

If it is stated that the meanings of these implicit words exist in the mind of the speaker,

and that through them the speech becomes complete, and that they are part of the speech which exists in the mind of the speaker, indicated by words, but whose verbal expressions are deleted for the purpose of brevity, just as the words which are allowed to appear are implicit for brevity, then it necessarily follows that the speech is incomplete (defective), and that it becomes complete only with the implicit words since they are part of the speech. Thus, we add to the speech of the speaker that which is not expressed verbally, without any proof, but by the claim that every accusative or subjunctive word must have an expressible regent governing it.

Before I discuss Ibn Maḍāʾ's criticism of another aspect of the theory of the ^Cāmil, I shall sum up the most important views of Ibn Maḍāʾ on deleted regents:

(1) There are three types of deletion: (a) deletion of known words; (b) deletion of unnecessary words; and (c) deletion of implicit words.

(2) Words of type (a) may or may not appear because the addressed person knows them. However, they are better left unexpressed.

(3) As for words of type (b), the utterance is complete without them; however, if they do appear the utterance becomes defective.

(4) Words of type (c) are always implicit; if they appear, they change the modality of the utterance.

(5) If the implicit words whose appearance is not allowed do not have the meaning in the mind of the speaker, it is nonsense to assume a regency for them.

(6) If those words have the meaning in the mind of the speaker and his speech must be understood with the

help of this meaning which is never expressed verbally, there is something wrong with the speech, namely, it is defective.

(7) In reality, however, the utterance never needs such an assumption.

(8) Therefore, those implicit words are nothing but extra elements.

(9) As a result of all of this, we shall abolish such assumption which is invented through the discussion of the ʿāmil.

2. The Abolition of the Assumed of al-mutaʿalliḡāt 'the suspenders'

The grammarians hypothesized some mutaʿalliḡāt on which a surface structure mutaʿalliḡ 'depends,' whenever there is no verb or a similar form expressed to make a dependency⁴¹ relationship in the surface structure; namely, the nominal sentence containing a prepositional phrase, which is either ḵabar 'predicate,' or ṣila 'relative clause,' or ṣifa⁴² 'indefinite relative clause,' or a ḥāl 'circumstantial clause,' as in (8), (9), (10), and (11) respectively below:⁴²

(8) zaydun fī al-dāri
 Zayd(nom) in the house

'Zayd is in the house'

(9) reʔaytu alladhī fī al-dāri
 I saw who in the house

'I say who was in the house'

- (10) marartu bi-rajulin min qurayshin
 I passed by a man from Quraysh

'I passed by a man from Quraysh'

- (11) raʔaytu fī al-dāri al-hilāla fī al-samāʔi
 I saw in the house the crescent in the sky

'I saw from the house the crescent moon in the sky'

Ibn Maḍāʔ (p. 79) criticizes the grammarians' assumption that the prepositional phrases: fī al-dāri, fī al-dāri, min quraysh, and fī al-samāʔi in (8), (9), (10), and (11) above are suspended upon assumed words; namely, qāʔimun 'existing/standing,' istaqarra 'located,' kāʔinin 'being,' and kāʔinan 'being' respectively. Ibn Maḍāʔ states that "without doubt, all of the above examples are complete sentences consisting of structures with a relationship between them manifested in the preposition fī 'in.' So there is no need to assume any word." Ibn Maḍāʔ adds that their assumption was simply needed by their rule that if the preposition in the prepositional phrase is not zāʔidah 'redundant' it must have a regent, either explicit or implicit (Ibn Maḍāʔ, p. 79). So, if we remove the concept of regency from grammar, then all of these assumptions will be automatically removed.

3. The Abolition of the Assumption of al-damāʔir al-mustatira

Ibn Maḍāʔ calls for the abolition of assuming al-damāʔir al-mustatira 'the hidden/implicit pronouns' in both derivatives and verbs.

a. Implicit Pronouns in Derivatives

The grammarians claim⁴⁴ that al-mushtaqqāt 'derivatives' like: ismu al-fā^Cil 'active participle,' ismu al-maf^Cūl 'passive participle,' al-ṣifa al-mushabbaha bi-smi l-fā^Cil 'the adjective which resembles the active participle,' and al-maṣḍar 'the verbal noun,' govern implicit pronouns when they do not govern expressed nominative nouns. Their justification was that if a derivative word can govern an expressed nominative noun, then it is more suitable that it can govern an implicit noun if the first is not verbalized.

Ibn Maḍā? refutes their argument by pointing out the following:

(1) That it makes the verbalized noun nominative is abolished because we abolish the whole concept of regency (Ibn Maḍā?, p. 79).

(2) In addition to that, each of these derivatives, e.g., ḍārib 'beating,' indicates two meanings: the action of beating and the unspecified agent doing the beating. So, in a typical example, zaydun ḍāribun ^Camran 'Zayd is beating ^CAmr,' ḍāribun refers to an unspecified agent and zaydun provides his name. Therefore, there is no need to assume anything additional, if it were expressed, it would be redundant.

(3) If someone argues that "the proof that this hidden pronoun exists is that it appears in some places,

as when there is conjunction," (Ibn Maḍāʾī, p. 80) for instance,

(12) zaydun ḍāribun huwa wa-bakrun ʿamran

'Zayd is beating, he and Bakr 'Amr.'

Then, Ibn Maḍāʾī responds that the grammarians say this pronoun, huwa, which appears is not the agent of ḍāribun. They claim that the agent of ḍāribun is implicit and the expressed one is intensifying or emphasizing the hidden one. They also state that bakrun is conjoined with the implicit pronoun, not with that which appears.

(4) Ibn Maḍāʾī (p. 81) concludes that the grammarians' assumption is based on ẓann 'conjecture,' and he wonders: how can conjecture prove something which is not necessary, and in which the learner has no benefit?; for which there is a need, it will be accepted if they are related by reliable authorities.

b. Implicit Pronouns in Verbs

In like manner, the grammarians suppose an implicit pronoun after the verb as its fāʿil 'agent/subject of verbal sentence' in a sentence like (12a) below:

(12a) zaydun qāma 'Zayd stood'
 Zayd stood

The underlying structure of the above sentence according to the grammarians is:

(12b) zaydun qāma (huwa) 'Zayd stood (he)'

Ibn Maḍāʾī (p. 82) rejects the nominative obligatorily implicit pronoun which is assumed by the grammarians after

the verb, by arguing that verbs indicate not only tense and action, but also indicate the agent without any need for additional taqdīr 'assumption.' Ibn Maḍāʾ adds that the only reason which makes the grammarians suppose an implicit pronoun after the verb is the two rules which they invented for the theory of the ʿāmil, namely:⁴⁵ (1) every regent verb must have a governed fāʿil 'agent'; (2) governed agents must follow their verb regents. Since Zaydun in (12a) precedes the verb qāma, they did not consider it the verb's agent. Thus, they assumed a pronoun.

According to Ibn Maḍāʾ (p. 83) the agent is known in the indicative verbs too. For instance, from the prefixir ya-, ta-, a-, and na-, we know it is the third person masculine singular, the second person masculine singular or the third person feminine singular, the first person (masculine/feminine) singular, and the first person plural respectively.⁴⁶ Ibn Maḍāʾ notices that the second person masculine singular and the third person feminine are indistinguishable, he clarifies that they are distinguishable in context, just like the imperfect verb, which has the shared meaning of present and future when considered in isolation; however, it is easily understood when considered in a context of a natural utterance (Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 83).

III. Grammar Without Regency and Suppletive Insertions

Ibn Maḍāʾ's concern in applying a method of regentless grammar to the study of Arabic was not less than his desire to criticize and to appeal for abolishing the theory of the ʿāmil and its related issues. This is why he started writing a book which contains all the chapters of grammar (p. 85):

wa-qad sharaʿtu fī kitābin yashtamilu ʿalā abwābi
al-naḥwi kullihā, fa-in qaḍā allāhu taʿālā bi-
ikmālihi intafaʿa bihi man lam yaʿuqhu ʿanhu al-
taqlīd, wa-illā fa-yastadillu bi-hādhihi al-
abwābi ʿalā ghayrihā

'I have begun a book on all the chapters of grammar. If God, Most High, supports me to complete it, the reader who does not follow (traditions) blindly will derive benefit from it. If it is not completed, then the following chapters will be a guide to others,

It seems that Ibn Maḍāʾ's book which he mentions here is either not finished, or it is lost. But still, as he indicates, we can determine what kind of Arabic grammar Ibn Maḍāʾ aimed to write, and what his methodology was through his criticism which we discussed before, and through his alternatives to the theory of regency which he applies to three more topics of Arabic grammar, in addition to the topics which he discussed before: al-tanāzuʿ fī al-ʿamal 'conflict in respect to government,' al-ishtighāl 'syntactic deflection,' and nawāṣib al-muḍāʾir 'the regents of the subjunctive verb.'

A. Conflict in Respect to Government

When the grammarians discussed this issue, they used the terms Camila 'to govern,' Cāmil 'regent,' ma^Cmūl 'governed,' Camal 'regency/government,' ma^Cmūl maḥdhūf 'deleted regent,' ma^Cmūl mudmar 'implicit regent,' and the like. Contrary to them, Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī uses the term Callaqa 'to make relationship with,' ta^Clīq 'relationship or dependency.' Ibn Maḍāʾ clarifies his key terms from the very beginning when he inserts (p. 85)

fa-anā fī hādhā al-bābi lā ukhālifū al-naḥwiyyīna illā fī an aqūla: "Callaqtu," wa-lā aqūlu: "a^Cmaltu." wa-al-ta^Clīqu yasta^Cmiluhu al-naḥwiyyūna fī al-majrūrāti, wa-anā asta^Cmiluhu fī al-majrūrāti wa-al-fā^Cilayni wa-al-maf^Cūlyni...

In this chapter I do not contradict the grammarians except that I use the term Callaqtu 'I related' rather than using a^Cmaltu 'I made it to govern.' The grammarians used dependency in prepositional construction. However, I use it for genitive constructions and for the two agents and the two objects.

The usage of the term Camal 'regency' and its derivative forms by the grammarians indicates all logical rules which we discussed in chapter 3, in addition to all kinds of suppletive insertions which we analyzed in the beginning of this chapter. However, the usage of the term ta^Clīq 'relationship' implies the discussion of the utterance at the surface level without going too far in hypothesizing or assuming deleted or implicit words or imaginizing a new underlying structure for the verbalized utterance.

It is to be noted that the term ta^clīq was used by al-Jurjānī about 100 years before Ibn Maḍāʾ. Rammun⁴⁷ states that "By ta^clīq al-Jurjānī means the complex system of syntactic-semantic interrelationships between the constituents of discourse/speech."

In order to present simply Ibn Maḍāʾ' s discussion of the related topics in this chapter, I shall point out the following:

1. The meaning of the problem

The problem of conflict with respect to government arises in the following cases:

- a. When two verbal regents precede a noun agent.
- b. When two verbal regents precede one accusative noun.
- c. When the agent of one of the verbs is also the object of the other.
- d. When the agent of one of the verbs is an object of a prepositional phrase containing a pronoun referring to it.

Thus, whenever any of the above cases occurs, it leads to tanāzu^c fī al-^camal 'conflict in governance'. Since Ibn Maḍāʾ abolishes the notion of the ^camal, he still has to present his method of explaining such occurrences, namely, the kind of relationship between the elements of sentences in models a. to d. above, and his explanations of the nominative and accusative cases without regents.

2. Discussion of the problem

Regarding case a. above, the grammarians say "two regents cannot govern one single word. Therefore, one of the two regents must be chosen and a deleted governed noun is assumed for the other regent." (Sībawayhi, 1:73). Below is an example of this structure:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| (13a) | qadima | zaydun | 'Zayd came' |
| (13b) | jalasa | zaydun | 'Zayd sat down' |
| (14) | qadima
V1 | wa jalasa
V2 | zaydun
N1 'Zayd came and sat down' |

The rule which states that a verbal regent must govern a nominative agent is fulfilled in (13a) and (13b), but in (14) there are two regents but only one nominative noun. Ibn Maḍāʾ says that al-Farrāʾ does not accept lining up the nominative noun with the second noun, whereas al-Kisāʾi does accept it under the condition it be stated that the agent in the first verb is deleted.

Ibn Maḍāʾi accepts al-Kisāʾi's opinion that the nominative noun in this example is in a relationship with the second verb. But he contradicts al-Kisāʾi in reference to the implicit pronoun, asserting that the verb indicates person, gender, and tense. Therefore, there is no need to assume a noun after the first verb, as it is known. He also quotes from the Qurʾān (No. 15 below) and from poetry (16) to prove his point:

- (15) Cabasa wa-tawallā an jā?ahu al-aCmā
frowned and turned away because came the blind
to him (nom)
(the Qur?ān, Sūra 30:1-2)

'(the Prophet) frowned and turned away because there came to him the blind man'

(Yūsuf Ali, 1687)

- (16) ta^caffaqa bi-al-artā lahā wa-arādaha
hid behind the arta-tree her and intended
V1 V2+N1(acc)

rijālun fa-badhat nablahum wa-kalību⁴⁸
for men then she beat their arrows and dogs
(nom)N2

'Men hid behind the arta-tree in wait for her, and intended upon her, then she beat their arrows and dogs.'

In the above examples, the second verb (V2) agrees with the expressed nominative noun (N1), while the nominative noun of the first verb is known (i.e., assumed) through the form of the verb. Thus, we have the structures:

V1 + V2 + N1⁴⁹(nom) [example (14)]

V1 + V2 + N1 + N2 (nom) [example (16)]
(acc)

If the second verb has a noun or a pronoun to agree with, then a speaker can make the other expressed noun agree with the first verb. For example:

- (17) qadima wa-jalasā al-zaydāni
came and they sat the two Zayds (nom)
V1 V2+N1(dual) N2(nom)
(nom)

'The two Zayds came and sat down'

- (18) qadima wa-jalasā al-zaydūna
came and they sat the Zayds
V1 V2+N1(plr) N2(nom)

In (17) and (18) we have the structure:

V1 + V2 + N1(nom) + N2(nom)

b. In case b. where there are two verbs and one accusative noun, Ibn Maḍāʾ quotes an example from the

Qurʾān:

- (19) ātūnī ufrigh ʿalayhi qitran
 bring me pour over it molten lead
 V1 V2 N2(acc)

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 18:96)

'Bring me, that I may pour over it, molten lead'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 756)

Ibn Maḍāʾ adds that it depends on the speaker's intention on which verb he wants to make a relationship with which noun.

c. When there are two verbs where one of them requires an accusative object, Ibn Maḍāʾ suggests that the second verb will be marked with the accusative pronoun referring to it. Examples:

- (20a) ʿarabtu zaydan 'I hit Zayd'
 I hit Zayd(acc)

'I hit Zayd'

- (20b) ʿarabānī zaydun 'Zayd hit me'
 hit me(acc) Zayd(nom)

Two ways in which they may be combined:

- (21a) ʿarabtu wa-ʿarabānī zaydun
 I(nom) me(acc)
 V1 V2 N2

'I hit (Zayd) and Zayd hit me'

- (21b) ʿarabānī wa-ʿarabtu zaydan
 V1 me (acc) V2 I (nom) N2 (acc)

'He hit me and I hit Zayd'

The above constructions are acceptable by Ibn Maḍāʾ, as the noun is mutaʿalliqun 'related' to the directly

preceding verb (as he states in a rule before). However, if the speaker does not want to change the word order of the verbs but at the same time wishes to change the relationship of the noun from one verb to another, it is suggested by Ibn Maḍāʾ that the second verb to be marked with an accusative pronoun. For example:

- (22) ḍarabanī wa-ḍarabtuhu zaydun
 hit me and hit I him Zayd
 V1 (acc) V2(nom)(acc) (nom)

'Zayd hit me, and I hit him'

What Ibn Maḍāʾ rejects is those examples which are made by means of analogy in the dual and plural nominative and accusative nouns which are needed by one or more transitive verbs. He opposes such examples because Arabs do not speak that way.

Examples of rejected structures:

- (23a) a^clamtu wa-a^clamanihi iyyāhu
 I informed and he informed me of it

zaydan ʿamran munṭaliqan
 Zayd(acc) Amr(acc) leaving(acc)

'I informed Zayd, and he informed me of it, that Amr is leaving'

- (23b) a^clamtu wa-a^clamanihimā
 iyyāhumā al-zaydayni al-ʿamrayni munṭaliqayni

'I informed the two Zayds, and they informed me of it, that the two Amrs are leaving'

- (23c) a^clamtu wa-a^clamūnīhim iyyāhum
 al-zaydīna al-ʿamrīna munṭaliqīna

'I informed the Zayds, and they informed me of it, that the Amrs are leaving'

Ibn Maḍāʾ (p. 90) mentions that there are many examples like the above ones which caused disputes among the grammarians in the discussion of this matter and others, where the main purpose of a grammarian is to analyze what has been said by Arabs.

d. In this case, wherein the governed structure is genitive following a prepositional phrase related to the preceding regent, Ibn Maḍāʾ again emphasizes what kind of ʿalāqa 'relationship' the speaker wants to make. Is it to make the ʿalāqa between the genitive structure and the first verb or with the second verb? Below is an example:

(24a) marra bī zaydun 'Zayd passed me'
 he passed by me Zayd(nom)

(24b) marartu bi - zaydin
 I passed by Zayd (gen)

The combination of the above two can be:

(25a) marartu wa-marra bi zaydun
 passed I and passed by Zayd
 V1 (nom) V2 (nom)

'I passed (by Zayd) and Zayd passed by me'

(25b) marra wa - marartu bi - zaydin
 (he) passed and passed I by Zayd(gen)
 V1 V2 (nom)

Thus in the above examples, Zaydun in (25a) agrees with V2; this is what the speaker intends. If, however, the speaker intends to make an ʿalāqa between V1 and the noun, then he must say (25b) (p. 88).

The grammarians, however, with some disputes between them, accepted other ways of the above structures. As an example of other ways which are not accepted by Ibn Maḍāʾ

"because there is nothing like them in the speech of Arabs" (p. 90), note the following:

- (26) marartu wa - marra bi bi-zaydin
 I passed and he passed by me by Zayd
 V1 V2 (acc)

'I passed (by Zayd) and he (Zayd) passed by me'

[bi-zaydin relates to marartu]

- (27) marra bi wa-marartu bihi zaydun
 V1 V2 (nom)

'Zayd passed by me and I passed by him (Zayd)'

[bi-zaydun relates to marra]

- (28) marartu wa - marra bi bi-al-zaydayni
 V1 V2 (dual)

'I passed by the two Zayds, and the two (Zayds) passed by me'

[bi-al-zaydayni relates to marartu]

We can summarize Ibn Maḍā's solution to the problem of al-tanāzu^C fī al-ʿamal 'conflict with respect to government' with the following:

(1) Having denied the existence of regency as a principle in grammar, he suggests replacing it by al-ʿalaqa 'relationship.'

(2) The case of the noun where two verbs precede it will be determined by the verb which immediately precedes it.

(3) If the second verb is transitive, and the related noun is nominative, the second verb will be marked with the accusative pronoun referring to it. This

will eliminate the need for the clumsy multiple pronominalization that regency demands.

(4) He suggests that the tanāzu^C style not be used with verbs which are doubly and triply transitive because there are no supportive examples in actual Arabic usage, as he wonders, "Do the Arabs speak such complicated sentences at all?" (p. 90).

(5) The principles of regency lead to many complications when one considers the many types of regents which can be used in tanāzu^C style (p. 90-91):

wa-furū^{Cu} hādhā al-bābi kathīratun minhā: anna jamī^{Ca} al-af^{Cā}li min mutaṣarrifin wa-ghayri mutaṣarrifin hal tadkhulu fī hādhā al-bābi aw lā? wa-minhā anna al-asmā^a wa-al-ḥurūfa hal hiya fī hādhā ka-laf^{Cā}li aw lā? wa-minhā anna al-muta^{Ca}alliḡāti allatī yusammihā al-naḥwiyyūna al-ma^{Cm}ūla fīhā, min zurūfin wa-aḥwālin wa-tamyizātin, wa-maf^{Cū}lātin min ajlihā, wa-maf^{Cū}lātin mutlaḡātin, wa-maf^{Cū}lātin ma^{Ca}hā wa-hal majrāhā majrā al-maf^{Cū}lāti bi-hā, wa-majrā al-fā^{Ci}layni wa-al-majrūrāti awwalan

The sections of this chapter are many. Among them: are all verbs both inflected and inflected, included in this chapter or not? Are nouns and particles like verbs in this chapter or not? Are dependent words which are called by the grammarians governed elements such as adverbs, circumstantials, accusatives of specification accusatives of purpose, cognate accusatives, and accusatives of accompaniment, of the same category of the other accusatives, the agents, and the prepositional phrases or not.

(6) He raises an objection against the grammarians who apply the theory of regent and produce expressions by analogy which are not used by the Arabs in reality, whereas they reject the speech of the Arabs which does not conform to their rules (p. 92).

B. Syntactic Deflection

The second chapter on which Ibn Maḍāʾī tries to apply his method for analyzing Arabic without regency is al-ishtighāl⁵¹ 'syntactic deflection.' It is the most complicated discussion in his book and in the books of the grammarians. In fact, the methodology of the Arab grammarians in discussing this chapter was one factor that prompted Ibn Maḍāʾī to appeal for the abolition of the theory of regency from the study of Arabic grammar, he says (Ibn Maḍāʾī, p. 95).

wa-min al-abwābi allatī yuẓannu annahu ya^Csuru
 ʿalā man arāda tafhīmāhā aw tafahhumāhā,
 liʾannahā mawḍiʿu ʿāmīlin wa-ma^Cmūl, wa-al-
 dāʿiyatu lī ilā inkāri al-ʿāmīli wa-al-ma^Cmūli,
 bābu shtighāli al-fiʿli ʿani al-mafʿūli bi-
 ḍamīrihi mithlu qawlinā: zaydan ḍarabtuhu

Another chapter which is thought to be hard for one to understand or to teach to others, because it involves regent and governed word and it leads me to deny the regent and the governed word, is the chapter of syntactic deflection when the verb governs the pronoun of the object complement instead of the object itself, as when we say: "Zayd--I hit him."

Ibn Maḍāʾī proposed two types of al-ishtighāl 'syntactic deflection' sentences, one in which the verb is a predicate complement, and another in which it is not; to quote him (p. 95):

inna kulla fiʿlin taqaddamahu ismun, wa-ʿāda minhu ʿalā al-ismi ḍamīru mafʿūl, aw ḍamīrun muttaṣilun bi-mafʿūl, aw bi-makhfūḍ, aw bi-ḥarfin min al-ḥurūfi allatī takhfīḍu mā baʿdahā, fa-inna dhālika al-fiʿla lā yakhlū an yakūna khabaran aw ghayra khabarin, wa-ghayru al-khabari yakunu amran, aw nahyan, aw mustafhaman ʿanhu, aw maḥḍūḍan ʿalayh, aw maʿrūḍan aw mutaʿajjaban minhu

- (32) ammā ḥaliyyan fa-d^cuhu
as for Aliy(acc) then invite him

'As for Ali , invite him'

Notice that the jussive verb can be attached to a prefix li 'let make,' as in (31) and also the accusative noun can be preceded by ammā 'as for' as in (32). Also, if a verb has a vocative meaning, its preceding noun is preferably in the accusative case as in (33) and (34) below:

- (33) allāhumma muḥammadan irḥamhu
O God! Muḥammad(acc) have mercy on him

'O God! Muḥammad--have mercy on him'

- (34) allāhumma mājidan lā tu^cadhdhibhu
O God! Mājid(acc) do not torture him

'O God! Mājid--do not torture him'

As for rule (2), Ibn Maḍā? permits the noun to be in the nominative case because there are examples from the Qur?ān which justify that:

- (35) wa - al - sāriqu wa - al - sāriqatu
and the they(nom) and the thief(f.noun)
fa - qṭa^cū aydiyahumā
then cut their hands(acc)

(the Qur?ān, Sūra 5:41)

'As to the thief, male or female, cut off his or her hands' (Yūsuf Ali, p. 254)

- (36) al - zāniyatu wa - al - zānī fa - jlidū
the adulterer(f.nom) and the adulterer(m) then flog

kulla wāḥidin minhumā mi?ata jaldatin
each one of them a hundred stripes

(the Qur?ān, Sūra 24:2)

'The woman and the man guilty of adultery, flog
each of them a hundred stripes'
(Yūsuf Ali, 896)

Now the question is, what is the main difference between the grammarians' analysis and Ibn Maḍāʾī's analysis of the above examples? At this time, we can point out the following:

(1) When the noun is in the accusative case and occurs at the beginning of the sentence, the grammarians⁵³ hypothesize an obligatory implicit verb before the noun to account for its government. Ibn Maḍāʾī, however, sees a relationship between the accusative noun and the expressed verb which follows.

(2) In cases where the nominative case is permitted for a noun as in (35) and (36), the grammarians⁵⁴ do not consider the imperative verb as a khabar 'predicate' but the khabar is deleted and assumed.

(3) Thus, Ibn Maḍāʾī's analysis does not consider the theory of the regent, nor does he depend on assumptions.

b. Subject of Interrogative⁵⁵

Ibn Maḍāʾī states that if a noun is the object of the interrogative particle a, the proper choice is the accusative case as in the following (Ibn Maḍāʾī, p. 97-98):

- (37) a basharan minnā wāḥidan nattabiḥu
what solitary one among us one we follow him
(the Qurʾān, Sūra 54:24)

'What! A man! A solitary one from among ourselves. Shall we follow such a one'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 1458)

The second rule which Ibn Maḍā? (p. 98) states is that if the pronoun which relates to the fronted noun is in the nominative, then the noun will be in the nominative case, for example:

- (38) a ḥabbūdun qāma⁵⁶
Abbūd stand up

'Did Abbūd stand up?'

- (39) qul: a allāhu adhina lakum
say God permit you

am ḥalā allāhi taftarūna?
or on God you invent

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 10:59)

'Say: Hath God indeed permitted you, or do ye invent (things) to attribute to God?'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 500)

- (40) a rawāḥun muwaddiḥun am bukūrū
will going bidding farewell or early
anta? fa-nḥur li-ayyi dhāka taṣīrū⁵⁷
you then see to what of this you be

'Are you dying later or sooner, look to which of them you are headed'

The third rule concerning the noun of this kind is that if the fronted noun has two pronouns referring to it, one of them in the nominative position and the other in the accusative position, or one of them connected to a nominative word and the other connected to an accusative word, then it is optional to put the fronted noun in the nominative or in the accusative (Ibn Maḍā?, p. 99).

Examples of this:

- (41) a ʿabdallāhi raʿā akhūhu ghulāmahu
 did ʿAbdallāh(nom/acc) saw his brother his slave
 'ʿAbdallāh; did his brother see his (ʿAbdallāh's)
 slave?'

On the other hand, if any of the related pronouns like hu in akhūhu and ghulāmahu above is an independent pronoun (separated) from the verb, then the first fronted noun takes the case of the bound pronoun, i.e., the noun will be in a nominative case as in (42a) because the bound pronoun is in the nominative and it will be in the accusative like (42b) because the bound pronoun is in the accusative:

- (42a) a muḥammadun lam yaḍrib illā iyyāhu
 did Muḥammad(nom) did not hit except him(acc)
 'Muḥammad; did he not hit anyone but him'
 (42b) a muḥammadan lam yaḍribhu illā huwa
 did Muḥammad(acc) did not hit except he(nom)
 'Muḥammad; did no one hit him but he?'

The difference between the grammarians' analysis and Ibn Maḍāʾ's in this section is the following:

- (1) Ibn Maḍāʾ states that when the conditions are met to put the noun in the nominative or in the accusative, the regent which stands for these cases is not muḍmar in any way as the grammarians state. Thus, the noun or the pronoun is made nominative or accusative in accordance with speech of the Arabs and nothing else (Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 102).

(2) Also, he quotes a long text from al-Akhfash and Sībawayhi in which they analyze several examples where their analysis is full of regency and assumptions.⁵⁸

(3) Ibn Maḍāʾ considers the nominative fronted noun in (42a) as a fāʿil 'subject of a verbal sentence,' while the grammarians consider it mubtadaʾ 'subject of a nominal sentence.'⁵⁹

(4) Ibn Maḍāʾ considers the semantic differences between words in his consideration of a nominal or a verbal sentence and not just the beginning of a sentence the way the grammarians do when they classify sentences. For example, the grammarians⁶⁰ stated that a sentence like a zaydun lam yadrib ʿamran illā huwa 'Zayd; did no one hit Amr but he?' is a nominal sentence because it starts with a noun which is mubtadaʾ. Ibn Maḍāʾ, however, considers the nominative noun as a fāʿil. The grammarians⁶¹ justification is that a governed fāʿil does not precede its regent verb. But Ibn Maḍāʾ, who abolishes the theory of regency, does not have to be controlled by its rules.

(5) Ibn Maḍāʾ accepts all choices of cases of a word according to what has been said by Arabs. This is why he permits ʿabdallāhi to be in the nominative or in the accusative as in (43) below, while Sībawayhi⁶² chose it to be in the nominative only.

(43) a anta abdullāhi ḍarabtahu
 you Abdullah you hit him

'Did you hit Abdullah?'

Sībawayhi's opinion here is justified by the fact that the interrogative particle a is separated from the fronted noun abdullāhi by the independent pronoun anta 'you'; therefore, the noun is obligatorily in the nominative case.

c. The Urgentive Particles

Ibn Maḍā? (105) states that if the verb is introduced by one of the taḥḍīd 'urgentive' particles, then the fronted noun must take the accusative case. The urgentive particles are: allā, hallā, lawmā, and lawlā. For example:

- (44) hallā ^Caliyyan akramtahu
 why did not Aliiy(acc) honored him

'Why did you not honor Ali?'

Ibn Maḍā? does not oppose the grammarians⁶³ in this case except for one thing; namely, the grammarians consider the noun ^Caliyyan in the accusative case because it is governed by an implicit verb--that is, akramta, while Ibn Maḍā? considers the noun muta^Calliḡ 'having a relationship' with the expressed verb akramtahu. So, the grammarians believe that the underlying structure of the above sentence is: hallā akramta zaydan akramtahu, while Ibn Maḍā? accepts only the surface form.

d. The Object of Wonder

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 105) again agrees with the grammarians that the fronted noun must be in the nominative case if it is followed by a clause of wonder. For example:

- (45) muhammadun mā aḥsanahu
 Muḥammad(nom) how good he

'Muḥammad, how good he is'

Before I discuss Ibn Maḍāʾi's views of predicate complement verbs in the syntactic deflection sentences, I shall summarize the rules which Ibn Maḍāʾi states for syntactic deflection in non-predicate-complement verbs:

(1) In the imperative, prohibitive, interrogative modes, the accusative case is preferred in the fronted noun, but the nominative is permissible [examples (29)-(31), and (35)-(37)].

(2) In the interrogative style, only the nominative case is permissible if the fronted noun has a related pronoun which is in the nominative [example (38)-(40)].

(3) In the interrogative style, when the fronted noun has two bound pronouns related to it, one in the nominative and the other in the accusative, then the speaker may put the fronted noun in either case [example (41)].

(4) Again, in the interrogative style, if either of the two related pronouns is separated from the verb, then the noun takes the case of the bound pronoun [examples (42a)-(42b)].

(5) Only the accusative case is permissible with syntactic deflection sentences introduced by the urgentive particles [example (44)].

(6) On the other hand, nouns which are the subjects of verbs of wonder may only be in the nominative when they are fronted [example (45)].

(7) In all rules above, there is no effect on the theory of regent, no hypotheses, no suppletive insertions, and no implicit words. Every rule is invented through the description of the way Arabs speak.

2. Predicate-Complement Verbs

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 105) states that verbs which may serve as predicate complements are considered to be those which occur in three types of sentences: mūjab 'affirmative,' manfiy 'negative,' and shart 'conditional.'

a. Affirmative Verbs

In the affirmative sentence the fronted noun may be either nominative or accusative, but nominative is preferred. Examples:

(46a) zaydun laqītuhu
Zayd(nom) I met him
'Zayd; I met him'

or

(46b) zaydan laqītuhu
Zayd(acc) I met him
'Zayd; I met him'

b. Negative Verbs

If the verb is negated by lā or mā, then the fronted noun can be either nominative or accusative, but the accusative is preferred. Examples:

- (47) mā zaydan ɖarabtuhu
did not Zayd(acc) I hit him

'Zayd; I did not hit him'

- (48) fa - lā dhā jalālin
and did not owner of eminent
(acc)

hibnahu li - jalālihi wa - lā
fear because of his station and do not

dhā dayā^Cin hunna yatrunka li-faqrihi⁶⁴
owner of misfortunate they leave because of his
(acc) poverty

'Death did not fear the eminent man because of his
wealth(station); nor does it leave the misfortunate
to his poverty'

- (49) fa - lā hasaban fakharta bihi li-taymin
then did not esteem to be pride of for Taym

wa - lā jaddan idhā izdahama al-judūdu⁶⁵
and no good fortune when it abounded good fortunes

'You win neither esteem for Taym, which you be proud
of, nor good fortune, when good fortune abounded'

In all of the above examples, the fronted noun is in
the accusative as it is preferred. To mention an example
of permissible nominative you can say:

- (50) mā zaydun laqituhu
did not Zayd(nom) I met him

'Zayd; I did not meet him'

c. Conditioned Verbs

If the verb is made conditioned by the use of the
conditioned particle in 'if,' the fronted noun is in the
accusative; and there is a dispute about whether it can be
nominative. Example of the accusative case:

- (51) lā tajza^Ci in munfisan ahlaktuhu
do not you repine if valuable spent

wa-idhā halaktu fa - ʿinda dhālika fa-jzaʿi⁶⁶
 and if I died then in that case you repine

'Do not repine if I spend up valuable property,
 but when I die, then repine'

After finishing analyzing predicate complement verb sentences, Ibn Maḍāʾ analyzes another type of sentence; namely, compound sentences. Ibn Maḍāʾ (p. 107) states two rules through the texts of the Qurʾān and a poem.

(1) If a speaker conjoins a sentence, which has a fronted object to another sentence which starts with a verb, then the fronted object is preferable to be in the accusative, while the nominative is acceptable. Let us consider sentences (52) and (53):

(52) muḥammadan akramtuhu
 Muḥammad(acc) I honored him

'Muhammad I honored'

(53) raʾaytu aliyyan
 I saw Ali(acc)

'I saw Ali'

According to Ibn Maḍāʾ, the speaker can conjoin (51) to (53) by either keeping muḥammadan in the accusative as in (54a) and this is preferable, or by putting it in the nominative as in (54b):

(54a) raʾaytu aliyyan wa-muḥammadan akramtuhu
 (acc)

'I saw Ali and Muhammad, I honored him'

(54b) raʾaytu aliyyan wa-muḥammadun akramtuh

'I saw Ali and Muhammad, I honored him'

To prove that the accusative is more common he provided examples from Qurʾān and poetry.

- (55) akhraja minhā māʾahā wa - mar^Cāhā
draweth from it its water and pasture(acc)
(acc)

wa-al-jibāla arsāhā
and the mountains fixed

(the Qurʾan, 79:31-32)

'He draweth out there from its moisture and its pasture. And the mountains hath he firmly fixed'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 1683)

- (56) yudkhilu man yashāʾu fī rahmatihi
he admits whom he will in his mercy

wa-al-zālimīna a^Cadda lahum ^Cadhāban alīmā
and the wrong doers(acc) prepared for them
punishment grievous

(the Qurʾan, 76:31)

'He will admit to his mercy whom he will, but the wrong-doers, for them has he prepared a grievous penalty' (Yūsuf Ali, p. 1661)

- (57) asbahtu lā ahmilu al-silāha wa - lā
I became not carry weapon and not

amliku raʾsa al-ba^Cīri in nafarā
I own head the camel if he ran

wa-l-dhiʾba akhshāhu in marartu bihi
and the wolf I fear him if I passed by him

waḥdī wa-akhshā al-riyāḥa wa-al-maṭarā⁶⁸
alone and I fear the wind and the rain

'I have become weaponless, I cannot even turn back the head of the camel if he runs away. Also, I fear the wolf if I pass by him alone, and I fear the winds and the rain'

(2) If a speaker conjoins the fronted noun sentence with a sentence having a muḩtadaʾ 'inchoative subject' and a khavar 'a predicate' wherein the predicate is a sentence

which consists of a verb and an agent, then according to Sībawayhi (1:91) the fronted noun must be in the nominative; however, Ibn Maḍāʾ accepts both the nominative and the accusative because there are texts which prove that. Example (58a) is put according to Sībawayhi while (58b) is another option in Ibn Maḍāʾ' s view.

(58a) zaydun akramtuhu wa-^ʿabdullāhi laqītuhu
 Zayd(nom) I honored him and Abduhhal(nom) I met him
 'Zayd I honored and Abdullah I met'

(58b) zaydun akramtuhu wa-^ʿabdallāhi akramtuhu
 (acc)
 'Zayd I honored and Abdallah I met'

To prove his point, Ibn Maḍāʾ (p. 111) quotes examples from the Qurʾān, such as:

(59) wa-al-najmu wa-al-shajaru yasjudāni
 and the stars(nom)and the trees(nom)they worship
 (ind)
 wa-al-samāʾa rafa^ʿahā wa-waḍa^ʿa al-mīzana
 and the sky(acc)raised it and set up the balance
 (acc)

(the Qurʾān, 55:6-7)

'And the harps and the trees both (alike) bow in adoration, and the firmament has he raised high and has set up the balance (of justice)'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 1472)

It is to be noted that Ibn Maḍāʾ tries to avoid all examples which are not spoken by Arabs, and all rules which are not needed. He concludes the application of this chapter by stating (Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 115):

qad ataytu fī hādhā al-bābi ^Calā mā yuhtāju
 ilayhi wa-yustaghnā bihi, wa-zidtu tawjīha al-
 aqwāli ^Calā Sibawayhi wa-lahu, li-ya^Clama al-
 gāri?u annī qad waqaftu ^Calā aqwālihim wa-
^Caraftu mā kutit. wa-lam ahtaj ilā idmāri mā al-
 kalāmu tāmmun dūnahu wa-izhāruhu ^Cayyun
 mukhālifun li-gharaḍi l-qā?ili, hādhā fī kalāmi
 al-nās, fa-ammā fī kalāmi allāhi ta^Cālā fa-ḥarām.

. In this chapter, I have presented what is needed of this subject. I added relevant citations and arguments for and against Sibawayhi⁶⁷ so that the reader will know that I have covered their statements and that I know what I have proven. I did not need to suppress words where the utterance was complete without them and where mentioning them contradicts the speaker's intention. I did this with respect to the speech of people; with respect to the word of God, hypothesizing suppressed words is forbidden.

C. Regents of the Subjunctive Verbs

As we have discussed in Chapter Three⁶⁹ the grammarians claim that subjunctive verbs are governed by subjunctive particles which put them in the subjunctive mood. Among these particles are fa 'then' and wa 'and' which they occur before the subjunctive verb. But the grammarians did not state that fa and wa are regents like other particles, on the contrary, they govern with an implication of an 'that' which is hypothesized to occur after the particles fa and wa. This assumption of the implicit an leads to other assumptions as Ibn Maḍā? (p. 72) states:

wa-kadhālika al-naṣbu bi-al-fāʔi wa-al-wāwi
 yaṣṣibūna hādhihi al-afʿāla al-wāqiʿata baʿda
 hādhihi al-ḥurūfi bi-an, wa-yuqaddirūna an maʿa
 al-fiʿli bi-al-maṣdari, wa-yaṣrifūna hādhihi al-
 afʿāla al-wāqiʿata baʿda hādhihi al-ḥurūfi bi-an,
 wa-yuqaddirūna an maʿa al-fiʿli bi-al-maṣdari,
 wa-yaṣrifūna al-afʿāla al-wāqiʿata qabla hādhihi
 al-ḥurūfi ilā maṣādirihā, wa-yaṭṭifūna al-
 maṣādira ʿalā al-maṣādiri bi-hādhihi l-ḥurūfi wa-
 idhā faʿalū dhālika kullahu lam yaridū maʿnā al-
 lafzi al-awwali

‘And also the subjunctive verb by waw and faʿ.
 They put the verbs which occur after these
 particles in the subjunctive mood by means of the
 particle an. They derive from an and the verb a
 verbal noun. They change the verbs which occur
 before these particles to verbal nouns, and they
 conjoin verbal nouns to verbal nouns with these
 particles. When they do all of this, the meaning
 of the first utterance is changed.’

(1) The Causative fāʔ?⁷⁰

When a verb following fāʔ al-sababiyya ‘the causative
fāʔ’ introduces the result of the clause before it, then
 the verb obligatorily is put in the subjunctive mood. Ibn
 Maḍāʔ (p. 115) asserts that there are eight types of
 clauses after which the verb is preceded by fāʔ becomes
 subjunctive: (a) al-amr ‘the imperative’; (b) al-nahy
 ‘the prohibitive’; (c) al-istifhām ‘the interrogative’;
 (d) al-nafy ‘the negative’; (e) al-ʿard ‘the demand’; (f)
al-tamannī ‘the hope’ or ‘the wish’; (g) al-taḥdīd ‘the
 incitive’; and (h) al-duʿāʔ ‘the supplicative.’

Ibn Maḍāʔ cites many examples of each of these from
 the Qurʾān and poetry; below are some:

a. The Imperative

- (60) yā nāqu⁷¹ sirī ^Canaqan fasiḥā
O camel be quick amble wide

ilā sulaymāna fa-nastariḥā
to Sulayman so we rest (subj)

'O camel, be quick and amble in this journey to Sulayman so that we can take a rest'

- (61) a^Ctinī fa-ashkuraka
give me so I thank you (subj)

'Give me, so I can thank you'

b. The Prohibitive

- (62) lā taftarū ^Calā allāhi kadhiban
do not claim on God lie

fa-yushitakum bi^Cadhāb
then he will destroy you (subj) by punishment

(the Qurʾan, 20:61)

'Forge ye not a lie against God, lest he destroy you (at once)'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 801)

- (63) wa - lā tatḡhaw fihi fa-yahilla
and do not excess in it then will descend (subj)

^Calaykum ghaḍabī
on you my wrath

(the Qurʾan, 20:81)

'Commit no excess therein, lest my wrath should justly descend on you'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 806)

c. The Negative

- (64) lā yuqḍā ^Calayhim fa-yamūtū
will not be determined for them so they will die
(subj)

(the Qurʾān, 35:36)

'No term shall be determined for them so they shall die'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 1164)

- (65) wa - mā anta min qaysin fa-tanbaḥa
and not you from Qays so you bark(subj)

dūnahā wa-lā min tamīmin fi al-lahā wa-
like them and not from Tamin in Uvula and

al-ghalāṣimī⁷²
the glottis

'You are not of Qays to bark (claim) as one of them, nor are you from Tamim in terms of Uvula and glottis'

d. The Interrogative

- (66) alam - tasʾal fa-tukhbiraka al-rusūmū
did not you ask so you be informed the traces
(subj)

^Calā firtāja wa-al-ṭalalu al-qadīmū⁷³
at Firtaj and the ruins the old

'Did you not ask about Firtaj, then you would be informed by the races about the old ruins'

e. The Demand

- (67) alā taʾtīnā fa-nuḥaddithaka
not you come so we will speak to you
(subj)

'Will you not come to us, so we will speak to you?'

f. Hope or Wish

- (68) layta zaydan ḥindanā fa-nukrimahu
 would that Zayd(acc) will us so we will honor him
 (subj)

'Would that Zayd were with us so that we might honor him'

- (69) fa-law nubisha al-maqābiru ḥan kulaybin
 and if was dug the graves of Kulayb

fa-yukhbara bi-al-dhanāʾibi ayyu zīrī⁷⁴
 so he would be known at the Dhanaʾib what Zīr
 (subj)

'If the graves of Kulayb were dug, then he would know what kind of Zīr I am'

(g) The Incitive

- (70) hallā zurta zaydan fa-yukrimaka
 why did not you visit Zayd so he would honor you
 (subj)

'Why did not you visit Zayd so that he might honor you?'

(h) The Supplicative

- (71) allāhumma lā tuʾakhidhnā bi-dhunūbinā
 Oh God! do not hold against us by our sins

fa-nahlaka
 so we will be destroyed(subj)

'Oh God! Do not hold our sins against us, lest we be destroyed'

Thus, Ibn Maḍāʾi makes no logical assumptions, nor does he make any kind of suppression. He just describes the positions of the verb where it becomes subjunctive. So, there is no need to hypothesize the occurrence of an after fa, nor to insert a verbal noun in the utterance where it is not expressed.

(2) The wāw of simultaneous accompaniment

For Ibn Maḍāʾ, the imperfect verb optionally becomes subjunctive whenever it is preceded by wāw al-maʿiyya 'the wāw of accompaniment, and the other subjunctivizing particles without any additional insertions. Ibn Maḍāʾ (p. 121) adds that the clauses which might precede the wāw are of the same type which are illustrated in the causative fāʾ above. Below are a few examples:

- (72) lā tanha ʿan khuluqin wa-taʿtiya mithlahu
do not prohibit from a habit and you do the same
(subj)

ʿārun ʿalayka idhā faʿalta ʿaẓīmū⁷⁵
shame on you if you did great

'Do not prohibit others from having a habit, while at the same time you have the same habit, it would be a great shame if you did so'

- (73) wa - lammā yaʿlami llāhu alladhīna
and without he tests God those of you
jāhadū minkum wa-yaʿlama al-ṣābirīn
they fought among you and tests the patients
(subj)

(the Qurʾān, 3:142)

'Without God testing those of you who fought hard (in his cause) and remained steadfast'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 159)

- (74) la - lubsu ʿabāʾatin wa - taqarra ʿaynī
that of wearing woolen and be cool my eye
(subj)

aḥabbu ilayya min lubsi al-shufūfi⁷⁶
dearer to me than wearing the fine dresses

'To wear a woolen and being happy is better than wearing a fine dress'

The important rule which distinguishes Ibn Maḍāʾ's idea of the verb which follows the wāw of accompaniment is that his stating that it is optional for the verb to be in the subjunctive, jussive, or indicative mood. Thus, in all of the above examples, each mood of the verbs which have two lines below, can be in either of the two moods as well. But what is the difference in meaning? Ibn Maḍāʾ illustrates this through the following examples:

(75a) lā taʾkul al-samakata wa-tashraba al-labana
do not eat the fish and drink the milk
(acc) (subj) (acc)

'Do not eat fish while you drink milk'

(75b) la taʾkul al-samakata wa-tashrab al-labana
(juss)

'Do not eat fish and do not drink milk either'

(75c) la taʾkul al-samakata wa-tashrabu al-labana
(ind)

'Do not eat fish, but drink milk'

It is clear that the mood of the second verb of each sentence above is changed according to the meaning which the speaker intends to express. In sentence (75a) the second verb is marked in the subjunctive mood, indicating that one action is permitted but not both. And this wāw here is the wāw of simultaneousness. In sentence (75b) the wāw conjoins the two verbs; therefore, both verbs are marked in the jussive. So, the meaning is that both actions are not permitted collectively or individually. And in sentence (75c) the first action is prohibited while

the second is permitted. So, the wāw here is the beginning of a new affirmative clause.

We can conclude by pointing out that Ibn Maḍāʾi's method of presenting the causative fāʾ and the wāw of simultaneous, as well as the syntactic deflection and conflict in respect to government is based on analyzing grammatical meaning as found in the written texts and in speech of Arabic speakers. The aim of his method is to simplify Arabic grammar by emphasizing the importance of the surface structure forms of Arabic in understanding the grammatical meaning of a given text and removing the rules of the regency theory and suppletive insertions.

IV. Evaluation of Ibn Maḍāʾi's Views and Applications

In this section, I do not aim at making a final judgment on who is more correct, the grammarians or Ibn Maḍāʾi. On the contrary, I do aim at suggesting that the differences between the grammarians and Ibn Maḍāʾi can be understood in the light of modern linguistic theory. To claim this, I have to show in examples how far and how close their analyses are to modern linguistic theory. Moreover, I aim at suggesting that the differences between the grammarians' analyses and Ibn Maḍāʾi's is not just a matter of points of view, but a difference in two approaches and two methods in understanding the Arabic

language. These approaches are similar in some way or another to some modern schools of linguistics.

Also in this section, I will try to examine the possibilities of applying Ibn Maḍā's theory of abolishing the ʿāmil and tagdīr to topics other than the ones which he himself examined. And finally, I will point out the most important points in his theory, approach, and application.

A. Regency or Dependency Grammar

There are basically two ways in which positions of words can be related in a given sentence: either in dependency or constituency terms.⁷⁷ In a dependency grammar, items in different syntactic positions in a sentence are directly related to each other in terms of a dependency relationship, with one part related to another. In constituency terms two methods of representation are available. In one, items are related in terms of phrase structure markers represented as trees. A verb and its noun object, for instance, are related to each other by virtue of being included in a verb phrase (see figure 1). In the second representation, items are related to each other by virtue of their occurring in positions included within a larger structure (see figure 2).⁷⁸

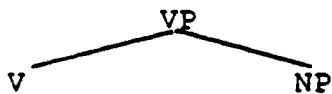


Figure 1

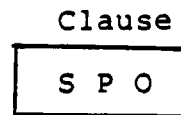


Figure 2

In Arabic theory, positions are related to each other in terms of regency or dependency according to the grammarians and in terms of the second type of constituency according to Ibn Maḍāʾ.

The Arabic notion of dependency is similar to the modern western⁷⁹ conception in some ways and different in others.

1. The Similarities

Robinson (1970:260) gives four conditions for a well-formed dependency structure:

- a. One and only one element is independent.
- b. All others depend directly on some element.
- c. No element depends directly on more than one other.
- d. If A depends directly on B and some element C intervenes between them (in linear order of string), then C depends directly on A or on B or on some other intervening element.

As we have discussed in Chapter Three, in Arabic theory there is a ḥāmil 'regent' and maḥmūl 'governed.' The regent is said to govern the governed in some case or mood form. The inflectional forms of a word change according to the change of regent. Now let us examine the following sentence and see if Robinson's conditions are met or not:

- (76) lan yad^Cuwa al-ṭālibu mudīra al-madrasati
 not invites the student director the school
 (subj) (nom) (acc) (gen)

'The student will not invite the school principal'

The negative particle lan governs the verb yad^Cuwa in the subjunctive; the verb yad^Cuwa governs the agent al-ṭālibu in the nominative and the object mudīra in the accusative; mudīra governs the possessor al-madrasati in the genitive.

Thus, in (76) Robinson's conditions are met: (a) the only independent item is lan; (b) all the items are in dependency relations; (c) no element depends directly on more than one other; and for (d) mudīra depends directly on yad^Cuwa, and the intervening element al-ṭālibu depends on yad^Cuwa.

One more point can be made about Arabic regency grammar and western dependency grammar; that is, both analyses allow a one-many relation between governed and governor, and typically one finds a single item governing more than one dependent.⁸⁰ For example,

- (77) a^Cṭā al-ṭālibu al-ʔustādha al-waḏīfata
 gave the student the teacher the homework
 (nom) (acc) (acc)

'The student gave the teacher the homework'

Wherein, the verb a^Cṭā governs al-ṭālibu in the nominative, in addition to al-ʔustādha and al-waḏīfata both in the accusative.⁸¹

Another important point of similarity between western dependency and Arabic regency is in terms of sequence relations. Tesnière⁸² (1959:32) explains sequence in terms of head-dependent relations, where languages tend to have either head-dependent or dependent-head orders. Arabic theory, for instance, is head-dependent as follows:

<u>Head</u>	<u>Dependent</u>
verb	subject, object
preposition	object
noun	adjective

This is why the grammarians had to assume an implicit or a deleted regent whenever they noticed a marked governed word that precedes what is supposed to be its regent. For example,

(78) a muḥammadan ḍarabtahu
 Muhammad(acc) 'you hit him

'Is it Muḥammad you hit?'

Because the accusative muḥammadan precedes the verb ḍarabtahu, the grammarians had to hypothesize an implicit regent which governs muḥammadan and precedes it.⁸³

The above examination does not prove that regency grammar and dependency western grammar are based exactly on the same principles. On the contrary, it proves that there are similarities and we can understand the Arabic grammarians' method in the light of these similarities.

But also there are some differences which should be pointed out:

2. The Differences

One obvious difference between the two methods is the status of the initial independent element. In most dependency grammars (Robinson, 1970; Hudson, 1982) the verb is considered the head of the sentence. In Arabic grammarians' regency the initial item can be a particle⁸⁴ as in (76) above, as well as a noun⁸⁵ or a verb⁸⁶, as we discussed before.

As another difference, in Arabic grammarians' theory there is a class of words which form a relation other than a regency one with the word they follow. These are the tawābi^c 'modifiers,' which include al-ṣifāt 'the adjectives.' The modifiers are said to follow the modified noun in terms of its inflection. For example:

(79) raʔaytu fatātan jamīlatan
I saw girl(acc) beautiful(acc)

'I saw a beautiful girl'

The relation between fatātan and jamīlatan is a modification one and not a regency. Here the adjective follows the noun in its inflection (accusative), gender, and indefiniteness.

In general, the Arab grammarians used a framework of governance, but they did not use the notion of head.⁸⁷ A regent is simply an item which governs another item in

some case or mood. Thus, every governed item does have a governor in Arabic theory, not in terms of optionality, (Hudson, 1982:3,8; Owens, 1984:28) but in terms of obligatoriness in most times.⁸⁸

B. Structural-Functional Grammar

When the Arab grammarians explained the inflectional form by adopting the notion of regency (governance) as presented in Chapter Three, Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī criticized that method because it leads to the assuming of unexpressed words, to the extent that it may change the whole meaning from what the speaker originally intended (see Part II of this chapter).

As an alternative method to the grammarians', Ibn Maḍāʾ suggests a notion of al-ḥalāqāt⁸⁹ al-waṣṭifiyya 'functional relationships' between the elements of a given sentence. The accusative inflection on an object noun, for example, could be explained by the fact that it occurs in the object position, rather than by the fact that it is governed by a verb as its object.

In this section, I will try to justify the claim that Ibn Maḍāʾ's theory is closer to modern structural linguistics than the Arabic grammarians'.

The structural-functional analysis of grammar is closely associated with linguists such as Bloomfield and Firth, and developed in Halliday's (1960) scale and category grammar, and in tagmemic grammar (Cook, 1969).

The central idea in it is that grammar can be constructed as a structure made up of various positions, with certain items occurring at these positions.⁹⁰ A sentence, for example, might be analyzed as having three main positions: subjects (S), predicate (P), and object (O), with nouns occurring at S and O and verbs at P. Under one conception of function, probably the most basic one, the occurrence of verbs and nouns at a position, a place in structure, defines their function, their relations to other items in the sentence (Halliday and Martin, 1981:137).

In Arab grammarians' theory, as well as in Ibn Maḍāʾi's, the basic syntactic unit of analysis is the sentence; sentence is minimally composed of two words which form predication, either noun + noun or verb + noun, according to the grammarians,⁹¹ or in addition to that noun + verb according to Ibn Maḍāʾi.

Thus, the nominal sentence is composed of two parts: mubtadaʾ 'subject' and khabar 'predicate,' while the verbal sentence consists of fiʿl 'verb' and fāʿil 'subject.'⁹² Example (80) represents a simple nominal sentence, while (81) represents a verbal one:

(80) muḥammadun nashīṭun
 Muhammad(nom) active (nom)
 Sub Pred

'Muhammad is active'

(81) qāma muḥammadun
 got up Muhammad(nom)
 verb subject

'Muḥammad got up'

In tagmemic analysis (Cook, 1969:15) "A slot is a position in a construction frame. Functional slots are positions in construction frames which define the role of linguistic forms in the constructions relative to other parts of the same constructions. Functions are grammatical relationships." Cook (1969:16) adds that, "the filler class is the list of all the items that can fill the functional slot. These items are mutually distributable within the slot. This filler class, by definition, is a distribution class, which in many cases is heterogeneous. Whatever fills the slot belongs to the distribution class, no matter what its form."

It is true that the Arab grammarians used the terms mawḍiʿ 'function' and manzila 'status',⁹³ and in some cases mawqīʿ 'position' and lafẓ 'filler',⁹⁴ or maqām 'place' and maḥall 'function',⁹⁵ but: (1) they used them interchangeably; (2) they did not clearly define them; and (3) whenever the filler is a phrase or a sentence they used the taqdīr 'suppletive insertion' or al-mutaʿalliqāt 'the suspenders' or they hypothesized implicit words to function in that slot; and this is why Ibn Maḍāʾ criticized them.⁹⁶

To prove our suggestion that Ibn Maḍāʾ's analysis is closer to that of the tagmemic than the grammarians', below are some examples:

- (82) zaydun fī al-dāri
 Zayd(nom) in the house(gen)
 Sub Pred

'Zayd is in the house'

- (83) zaydun darabtuhu
 Zayd(nom) I hit him
 Sub Pred

'As for Zayd, I hit him'

According to most grammarians, the prepositional phrase fī al-dāri in (82) is not a predicate by itself, on the contrary, it is mutaʿalliqā 'related' or 'connected' to an implicit ḵabar 'predicate' which is qāʾimun or mustaqirrun 'being.' Contrary to them, Ibn Maḍāʾ thinks that fī al-dāri is the predicate, regardless of its being a phrase and not a single noun.⁹⁷ Moreover, darabtuhu in (83) is not the predicate according to the grammarians because it is a sentence and not a single noun; on the contrary, this sentence is in the maḥall 'position' or in the mawḍiʿ 'place' of the comment. However, the sentence is the comment for Ibn Maḍāʾ.

Ibn Maḍāʾ takes the same position in analyzing the verbal sentences as we have shown in parts II and III of this chapter. Below are some more examples to clarify his position:

- (84) yajibu an tagūma
it is necessary that you stand
(subj)
'It is necessary that you stand up'
- (85) Calimtu anna zaydan munṭaliqun
I learned that Zayd leaving
(obj)
'I learned that Zayd was leaving'
- (86) marartu bi-zaydin
I passed by Zayd
(obj)
'I passed by Zayd'
- (87) jāʔa al-waladu yarkuḍu
came the boy he runs
(circum)
'The boy came running'

According to Ibn Maḍāʔ, an taguma in (84) above is the subject, the clause anna zaydan munṭaliqun in (85) is the object, the prepositional phrase bi-zaydin in (86) is the object, and the verb yarkuḍu in (87) is the circumstantial.

Thus, each slot for subject or object can be filled by a noun or a phrase or a sentence. Most grammarians, however, had to hypothesize an implicit single word which takes that position whenever the filler is not marked with the marker which a single word takes in that position. The subject in (84) is the implicit verbal noun qiyāmuka 'your standing'; the object in (85) is the implicit verbal noun inṭilāqa 'leaving,' the object in (86) is deleted,

and the verbal sentence of yarkudu and its subject in (87) is in the place of the circumstantial.

I think that if we examine many other examples, which might be interesting for another study, we will find that Ibn Maḍāʾ's approach is closer to the tagmemic one than that of the grammarians', simply because of the following:

1. I have shown in section A. above that the Arabic grammarians' theory is very similar to that of the western dependency grammar; and tagmemic analysis does not recognize dependency at all.

2. In tagmemic analysis there is nothing in principle which prevents the substitution of one phrase for another. The Arabic grammarians, on the other hand, had to assume a single word whenever there is a larger item for a smaller one, the smaller one always being a single word. I think this is because the single word filler may carry the marker of the slot, whereas the long filler does not.

3. The grammarians' analysis goes beyond the surface structure to the underlying structure, while the tagmemic approach analyzes the surface structure, which is what Ibn Maḍāʾ calls for.

All of our discussion above does not mean that Ibn Maḍāʾ's ideas are more correct than the grammarians' or vice versa, but it does mean that his ideas as well as the grammarians' can be understood in the light of modern

linguistics. In addition to that, we can apply Ibn Maḍā's method to other topics of Arabic grammar as Ibn Maḍā suggests in his introduction. Some of these topics will be pointed out in section D. below.

C. Underlying Structure and Surface Structure

As we have discussed early in this chapter, the grammarians analyzed most of the Arabic structures by constructing the deep structure of the surface one whenever the regent or its governed word are not explicit; or when any of the regency rules seems to be broken, they would generate words to make their rules work. Despite the fact that some of their solutions can be understood in terms of modern underlying structure analysis,⁹⁸ I think that they went too far sometimes in their tagdīr 'suppletive insertion,' as they assumed utterances or words in the deep structure while these words are either explicit or indicated in the surface structure. One topic will be discussed below; namely, their analysis of the Arabic pronouns.

The grammarians divide the pronouns into two basic categories.⁹⁹ The first is bāriz 'expressed' and mustatir 'hidden' or 'implicit.' Expressed pronouns are either muttaṣil¹⁰⁰ 'bound' or munfaṣil¹⁰¹ 'free.' Bound pronouns can function in the nominative, in the accusative, and in

the genitive.¹⁰² Free pronouns are of two kinds: nominative and accusative.¹⁰³

The Arab grammarians assume an implicit pronoun after verbs whose fā'il 'subject' is not expressed. For example:

(88) kataba al-darsa
he wrote the lesson(acc)

'He wrote the lesson'

(89) muḥammadun yaktubu al-darsa
Muhammad(nom) writes the lesson(acc)

'Muhammad writes the lesson'

The grammarians analyze sentence (88) as having the deep structure kataba huwa al-darsa and sentence (89) as muḥammadun yaktubu huwa al-darsa. In other words, they assume the implicit pronoun huwa 'he' after the verbs kataba and yaktubu in the above respectively. Their analysis was based on the following rules which they invented for the theory of the ḥāmil:¹⁰⁴

a. Every verb must govern a fā'il 'subject.'

b. A governed 'subject' must follow its regent.

Regarding the first rule, both sentences have verbs; therefore, they must govern subject. Since the subject in (88) is not verbally expressed, it must be implicit. As for sentence (89), muḥammadun cannot be considered as subject because the second rule states that the governed subject must follow its regent verb; therefore, muḥammadun is not a subject of a verbal sentence but a mubtada'

'subject' of a nominal sentence. This leads them to assert that the subject of the verb is an implicit pronoun and this sentence is a nominal one.

The grammarians then expanded their rules and stated sub-rules for the implicit pronoun.¹⁰⁵ They claimed that there are two types of them: obligatorily implicit and optionally implicit. The obligatorily implicit pronoun is always nominative. Furthermore, the free pronouns cannot be substituted for it.

On the other hand, the optionally implicit pronoun is one which can be substituted freely by an explicit noun or pronoun. Below are some examples:

(90a) muḥammadun marra

'Muḥammad passed by'

(90b) muḥammadun marra abūhu

'Muḥammad his father passed by'

(90c) muḥammadun mā marra illā huwa

'Muḥammad; no one passed by but him'

Thus, (90a) can be changed to (90b) to express the noun abūhu which replaces the implicit pronoun huwa. Further, in (90c) the subject is huwa which follows the exceptive particle illā; therefore, there is no need to claim that the subject is an implicit pronoun.

Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī, on the other hand, criticizes the whole notion of implicit pronouns. He rejects the

view that implicit pronouns exist in Arabic, in verbs or in derivatives. His idea is (p. 79-80) that the verb indicates tense, action, and the unspecified subject by virtue of its form and location in the construction. Moreover, in imperfect verbs, the initial ya- of the third person masculine singular a- of the first person singular, ta- of the third person feminine singular and second person masculine singular, and the na- of the first person plural indicate the subject of the verbal stem to which they are attached.

For our evaluation of both views--the grammarians' and Ibn Maḍā?'s--let us take a look at a set of forms of the same verb mentioned in sentence (88) and consider its structure in the perfect tense:

	<u>3rd person masculine</u>	<u>meaning</u>
singular	kataba	'he wrote'
dual	katabā	'they wrote'
plural	katabū	'they wrote'

	<u>3rd person feminine</u>	
singular	katabat	'she wrote'
dual	katabatā	'they wrote'
plural	katabna	'they wrote'

	<u>2nd person masculine</u>	
singular	katabta	'you wrote'
dual	katabtumā	'you wrote'
plural	kababtum	'you wrote'

	<u>2nd person feminine</u>	
singular	katabti	'you wrote'
dual	katabtumā	'you wrote'
plural	katabtunna	'you wrote'

	<u>1st person m. and f.</u>	
singular	kababtu	'I wrote'
plural	katabnā	'we wrote'

From the data above, we can see that, at the word level, the perfect tense stem of this verb is katab- with

the structure CVCVC-. The other morphemes which are attached to it denoting the personal pronouns, such as: /-a/ 'he', /-ā/ 'they (dual)', /-ū/ 'they' (masc. plural), /-at/ 'she', /-na/ 'they' (f. plural), /-tu/ 'I', and /-nā/ 'we'. Accordingly, /-a/ in katab-a indicates person, number and gender as it denotes the third person masculine singular; this is what Ibn Maḍāʾ suggests.

The above morphemes are classified by the grammarians into three types: (1) ʿalāmatu bināʾ 'indeclinable marker' such as: /-a/ in katab-a; and /-ū/ in katabū; (2) gender marker such as /-t/ in kataba-t; and (3) connected pronouns which have a subject function such as: /-ā/ in katab-ā, /-tu/ in katab-tu, and /-nā/ in katab-nā.

It appears that Ibn Maḍāʾ's criticism implies a very important point, that is to say, the grammarians' classification in this regard lacks a harmonious system, i.e., the morpheme /-a/ should be treated as singular masculine marker the way /-t/ is considered as a feminine singular marker, or to be treated as a connected pronoun and has a subject function just as /-ā/ and /-tu/ were treated. However, the grammarians did not do this. The Arab grammarians faced another contradiction in explaining the pronouns which occur before the subjects and after the verbs in the following examples:¹⁰⁶

- (91) wa - asarrū al-najwā al-ladhīna ḡalamū
and conceal counsels those wrong-doers

(the Qurʾan, Sūra 21:3)

'The wrong-doers conceal their private counsels'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 822)

- (92) thumma ḡamū wa-sammū kathīrun minhum
and became blind and became deaf many of them

(the Qurʾan, Sūra 5:74)

'Yet again many of them became blind and deaf'

(Yūsuf Ali, p. 266)

- (93) yataḡāḡabūna fīkum malāʾikatun bil-layli
they follow you angels in the night

wa-malāʾikatun bi-al-nahār¹⁰⁷
and angels in the day

'There are angels who follow you and take turns
nightly and daily'

In the above examples, the subjects are verbally expressed. They are al-ladhīna, kathīrun, and malāʾikatun respectively. Therefore, the grammarians had to consider /-ū/ in asarrū, ḡamū, and yataḡāḡabūna as a plural masculine marker.

All of the above confusing analysis came from the two rules which the grammarians invented regarding the regent.

Another important point to be made is that these verb suffixes clearly indicate number and gender exactly the way they demonstrate the phenomenon of agreement in nouns too. Let us consider the following examples:

- (94) humā katabā al-darsa 'They (both) wrote the lesson'
 (95) kātibā al-darsi 'The (two) writers of the lesson'
 (96) hum katabū al-darsa 'They (all) wrote the lesson'
 (97) kātibū al-darsi 'The writers of the lesson'

As a result of this discussion, I think that the grammarians went beyond the limitations of assumptions and making tagdīr especially when the forms of verbs or their derivatives indicate person and gender.

D. Important Positive Points of Ibn Maḍāʾ's Methodology and Application

In addition to the above valuable ideas of Ibn Maḍāʾ, which may link him to modern structuralists, I shall point out some other constructive points of his methodology and application:

1. Ibn Maḍāʾ describes the Arabic language and tries to discuss all possibilities of a word-occurrence and does not invent a rule from an incomplete data.

2. In his description, Ibn Maḍāʾ does not make his rule control the texts of Arabic.

3. When he explains inflection cases and moods, he relates them to particular grammatical functions and not to explicit or implicit regents. This valuable view leads a grammarian to think of the explicit structure elements and not of any elements out of the structure itself.

4. His ideas of abolishing the theory of regent and tagdīr may simplify the Arabic grammar and makes it easy

for those who want to learn the rules of the Arabic language.

5. His ideas and approach are prompting to review all topics of Arabic grammar, in order to re-analyze the Arabic language from the structuralist's point of view.

6. There are many topics of Arabic grammar which are founded because of the theory of the ʿāmil, if we apply Ibn Maḍāʾ's method and abolish this theory, then these topics will be abolished and reorganized into their normal categories. For example, kāna and its sisters, inna and its sisters, kāda and its sisters, mā and lā al-ḥijāziyyatayn 'the ḥijāzi mā and lā,' ḡanna and its sisters, and aʿlama and the other verbs which take three accusative objects and alike. Under the new organization we can study all verbs under the topic which deals with all of their functions. The same thing can be done regarding the mubtadaʾ 'subject' and the ḡabar 'predicate.'

7. Also, the topics which are discussed separately can be put together and studied through all of their distribution and occurrences in the Arabic language. For example, the fāʿil 'subject of a verbal sentence' can be shown of all of its possible semantic functions and structure in all its environments.

8. By applying Ibn Maḍāʾ's methodology, we can get rid of all kinds of insertions which are not based on the

way Arabs speak. That is to say, any interpretation of a text which cannot be proven by examples from the actual speech of the Arabs should be removed.

9. Ibn Maḍāʾī did not only criticize but also applied his methodology to the most complicated topics of Arabic grammar. He intended to show what kind of Arabic grammar he wanted. And this is a very important point because he proved that his ideas are not just theoretical ones but also can be applied.

10. Ibn Maḍāʾī does not quote from other grammarians without indicating where he quotes from. When he quotes he aims at supporting his ideas. Moreover, he proves his views with examples from the Qurʾān, poetry, the ḥadīth, and the common usage of the Arabs speech.

All of the above points are related to his criticism of the theory of the ʿāmil and tagdīr. There are other positive points on his theory in general, but we prefer to present them after we discuss his notion of secondary and tertiary reasons in Chapter Five.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. There are two editions of Ibn Maḍāʾ's book: one was published in 1947, and edited by Shawqī Dayf. The second was published in 1979, and edited by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā. All of the page numbers indicated in this dissertation refer to the 1979 edition, unless it is necessary to quote from Dayf's edition.
2. The founder of dawlat l-muwahhidīn 'Almohad dynasty,' Abū Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d. 524/1130). See Dayf's introduction in al-radd ʿalā al-nuhā, 1947:5.
3. Ibn Tūmart was succeeded by his disciple Abd al-Muʾmin b. Ali (d. 556/1163), who in turn was succeeded by his son Abu yaʿqūb yūsuf b. Abd al-Muʾmin (d. 580/1184). Then the third caliph, to whom Ibn Maḍāʾ dedicates a prayer, is Abū yūsuf yaʿqūb b. yūsuf al-Manṣūr (d. 595/1199). Ibn Maḍāʾ wrote his book during the reign of this ruler, i.e., after 580/1184. Ibid., p. 6-7.
4. These terms will be discussed in detail later on.
5. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, Cairo, 1966, 1:23.
6. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī, al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ, Beirut, 1970, 2:68.
7. Ibid., p. 67.
8. Muslim b. al-Hajjāj, ṣaḥīḥ, Cairo, 1929, 1:20.
9. This school was founded by Dāwūd b. Ali b. Khalaf who was born in Kūfa about 200/815, and died in Baghdad 270/883. See Goldziher, The Zāhiris, Leiden, 1971:27-29.
10. Abū Hanīfa (d. 150/766) for instance, was the scholar who applied raʾy more than other scholars. On the other hand, Dāwūd b. Ali opposed the use of raʾy. Between the two schools, there were Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/819), and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Ibid., p. 6-13.
11. Goldziher quotes an Arabic text from Ibn Ḥazm regarding ijmāʿ and qiyās. See his book, The Zāhiris, 1971: 33-34.

12. Because of the Zāhirite's rejection of some of the basic sources of Islamic law, they were excluded from consideration in determining the consensus. Furthermore, they were not considered as a fifth legal school, but rather ignored by most of the four orthodox schools. For further study about this, see Goldziher, The Zāhirīs, 1971:36-38.
13. He wrote a book entitled, al-khaṣāʾiṣ. It is edited by Muḥammad al-Najjār, Cairo, 1952.
14. Al-Jāḥiẓ was born in 160/776 and died in 255/868. He was a well-known scholar of the early Islamic period. His books are: al-ḥayawān 'on animals,' al-bayān wa-al-tabyīn 'on rhetoric,' and al-bukhalāʾ 'on greedy people.'
15. He was a Baṣran grammarian and died 248/862.
16. The grammarians use the term tagdīr when, (1) they hypothesize the meaning of a given structure; and (2) when they assume a deleted regent or a governed word in a given surface structure. Kojiro Nakamura (1974, Orient, 10:101), he translates it as to "assume a virtual meaning." Ample examples will be discussed below.
17. This term is used by the grammarians for both nouns, when they are end in the vowel /-a/ or /-an/ (accusative case) and imperfect verbs when they end in the vowel /-a/ (subjunctive mood). See section I, Chapter Three of this dissertation.
18. The grammarians used interchangeably jarr and khaḍf to indicate that the governed noun is marked by the vowel /-i/ or /-in/. See section I, Chapter Three of this dissertation.
19. This term applies only to imperfect verbs by the grammarians. It means that the verb has no vowel at the end. See section I, Chapter Three of this dissertation.
20. See section II.A., Chapter Three of this dissertation.
21. The grammarians used this term for both nouns, when they end in the vowel /-u/ or /-un/, and imperfect verbs when they end in /-u/. See section I, Chapter Three of this dissertation.
22. For ample examples of this term, see section II.B., Chapter Three of this dissertation.

23. On Sībawayhi's view of the eight categories of inflections, see al-kitāb, 1966, edited by Abdu al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1:13.
24. Notice that Ibn Maḍā? looks at this structure as individual words and not as a comprehensive construction.
25. Ibn Maḍā? believes that there is no agent but God. He relates the act of man and all living creatures to God as the real actor. He also adds that this is the view of the people of truth (See Ibn Maḍā?, 1979:70).
25. Ibn Maḍā? uses fā^Cil 'agent' in this construction to mean āmil 'regent.'
26. Even in modern times, Muḥammad Aḥmad ^CArafa (1937, p. 89) in his book, al-naḥw wa-al-nuḥāḥ bayna al-azhar wa-al-jāmi^Ca, justifies the adoption of the theory of the āmil by the grammarians through the same justification which is responded here by Ibn Maḍā?.
27. See Section II.A.I., Chapter Three of this dissertation.
28. Ibn Maḍā? refers to the grammarians' insertions on the Qurʾān and their rejection of some of the recitations. On this topic, see Section III.C.1., Chapter Two of this dissertation.
29. Ibn Jinnī, al-khaṣāʾiṣ, ed. Muḥammad al-Najjār, Cairo, 1952, 1:109-110.
30. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā, the editor of Ibn Maḍā?'s book, accuses Ibn Maḍā? of trying to make a dispute between Sībawayhi and Ibn Jinnī, while Sībawayhi himself states the same thing in other pages of his book. See on the similarities between Sībawayhi and Ibn Jinnī, Ibn Maḍā?, 1979:14-15.
31. On Ibn Jinnī's statement, see al-khaṣāʾiṣ, 1:189.
32. Al-khalīl b. Aḥmad, who wrote kitāb al-ʿayn and was Sībawayhi's teacher.
33. Abū ^CAmr b. Zubān b. al-ʿalā? al-Māzinī, who belonged to the Baṣra school and taught al-Mubarrid who wrote al-muqtaḍab in four volumes.
34. This text is also in al-khaṣāʾiṣ, 1:189.

35. On ^Cilm al-ikhtilāf 'the science of difference of opinion' see Goldziher, *The Ẓāhirīs*, translated by Wolfgang Behn, 1971, Leiden, p. 36-38.
36. According to most reciters, al-^Cafwa is in the accusative, Abū ^CAmr b. al-^CAlā?, however, recited it with /-u/ at the end, i.e., it is in the nominative case. On this, see Al-Bannā's comment, footnote (4) in *al-Radd ^Calā al-Nuḥā*, 1979:71.
37. An example from English on this type of deletion would be the deletion of "pencil" in the answer "his" to the question "whose pencil is this?"
38. On this type of regency, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.
39. The discussion in detail of this subject will be on Section III.C. of this chapter. Also see Section II.A.3.b., Chapter Three of this dissertation.
40. On this assumption, see Sībawayhi, 3:28-41 and al-Mubarrid, 2:16-24.
41. The dependency relationship between structures which is adopted by the grammarians is different from that which is suggested by Ibn Maḍā?; as we will examine this method in the application part, Section III.A-C of this chapter. The grammarians' dependency is also different from that of al-Jurjāni's, on this see: Raji Rammuny, "The Role of al-Jurjāni's concept of ta^Cliq in The Development of Arabic Grammatical Theory and Linguistic Analysis," forthcoming paper, p. 1-34.
42. The word *ṣifa* 'adjective' is missing in al-Bannā's edition, p. 79. But it is included in Dayf's, p. 99.
43. All of these examples are from ibn Maḍā?, p. 79.
44. On the grammarians' argument, see Section II.A.2.c-f, Chapter Three of this dissertation.
45. On these rules, see Section III., Chapter Three of this dissertation.
46. Ample examples will be given on Arabic pronouns in the evaluation section of this chapter, Section IV. below.
47. Raji Rammuny "The Role of al-Jurjāni's Concept of ta^Cliq in the Development of Arabic Grammatical Theory and Linguistics." Volumes of Essays in Memory of Ernest Abdel Massih. (forthcoming). The University of Michigan.

48. This is by ^CAlqama b. Abda b. al-Nu^Cmān. See al-Bannā's note (4) in Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 87.
49. The numbers here are to indicate with which each verb and noun is related.
50. This is by al-Farazdaq. See al-Bannā's note (1) in Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 89.
51. On syntactic deflection, see al-kitāb, 1:138, ham^C al-hawāmi^C, 1:109 and mughnī al-labīb, 179, 537.
52. This is a verse from a poem by al-A^Cshā. See Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 95.
53. On this topic, see al-kitāb, 1:142, al-muqtaḍab, 3:195, and sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal, 1:100.
54. Sībawayhi's opinion is that the predicate assumed in the farāʾiḍ 'duties.' See al-kitāb, 1:139-140 and al-muqtaḍab, 3:195.
55. Regarding the interrogative pronouns, see Wright, 1974, 1:274-277.
56. It is true that the related noun is not expressed here, but the pronoun is understood.
57. This verse from ^CAddiy's poem. See al-ham^C, 1:110 and al-khaṣāʾiṣ, 1:132.
58. See their analysis in al-kitāb 1:106 and Ibn Maḍāʾ, p. 101-102.
59. See Sībawayhi, 1:104.
60. For more detail about the grammarians' analysis, see Maḥdī al-Makhzūmī, 1964, p. 169-175.
61. This is Sībawayhi's opinion. al-kitāb, 1:107.
62. al-kitāb, 1:104.
63. Ibid., 1:98.
64. This is a verse from a poem by Hudba b. al-khashram al-^CAdhry. See sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal, 2:37 and al-kitāb, 1:81.
65. This verse is said by Jarīr. However, al-Bannā said that this verse is narrated with a nominative noun. See Ibn Maḍāʾ, note (1), p. 106.

66. This is by al-Namir b. Tawlab. See al-mufaṣṣal, 2:38 and al-kitāb, 1:134.
67. I mentioned some of Sībawayhi's arguments, however, I did not mention all of them because this will be a repetition of what I discussed in Chapter Three.
68. This verse was compared by al-Rabī^C b. Dabu^C al-Fazārī. See al-ham^C, 2:50, and Sībawayhi, 1:89.
69. On the subjunctive particles, see Chapter Three, Section II.A.3.c. of this dissertation.
70. This fā? is used to introduce a clause that expresses the effect of a preceding clause. Normally, it occurs in the response to a pure demand or a pure negation. Wright, 2:30.
71. In Ḍayf (1947, p. 143) nāqa, but is corrected in al-Bannā (1979, p. 115) to nāqu. This verse is said by Abū al-Najm when he praised Sulaymān b. Abdu al-Malik. See al-Muqtaḍab, 2:14, sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal, 7:26, and Sībawayhi, 3:35.
72. This verse was said by al-Farazdaq against Jarīr, in which he criticizes him that he is not from an honorable tribe. See Ḍayf's (1947) comment, note (2), p. 142.
73. The author of this verse is unknown, so Ibn Maḍā? just says, a poet said...See Ibn Maḍā?, p. 117.
74. This verse was by al-Muhalhal who was praising himself. It is also cited in al-kitāb, 3:33.
75. There is a dispute regarding the poet of this verse, but it is reported that it is al-Akḥṭal. See al-kitāb, 3:42, al-muqtaḍab, 2:16, and sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal, 7:24.
76. This verse is by Maysūn b. Baḥdal who was the wife of Mu^Cāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. This verse is cited also in al-kitāb, 3:45, al-ham^C, 2:17, and al-muqtaḍab, 2:27.
77. On these terms, see Richard A. Hudson, "Constituency and Dependency." Linguistics, 18(1980), p. 179-198.
78. See Jonathan Owens, "Structure, Class and Dependency." Lingua 64 (1984):25-62.

79. On modern views of dependency, see Jane J. Robinson, "Dependency Structures and Transformational Rules." Language, 46(1970), p. 259-285; Richard Hudson, "A second attack on constituency: a reply to Dahi." Linguistics, 18(1980), p. 489-504; and Jonathan Owens, "On getting a head: a problem in dependency grammar." Lingua, 62(1984), p. 25-42.
80. A good treatment of these similarities is Jonathan Owens, "Structure, class and dependency." Lingua, 64(1984), p. 25-62.
81. For more examples of this, see section II.A.1. of Chapter Three in this dissertation.
82. Tesniere's view is quoted from Jonathan Owens, 1984, p. 40.
83. More examples of this type were given under "syntactic deflection" of this chapter.
84. Ample examples of this type have been given in section II.A.3. of Chapter Three in this dissertation.
85. For further examples, see Section II.A.2. of Chapter Three in this dissertation.
86. See section II.A.1. of Chapter Three in this dissertation.
87. On this, see Jonathan Owens, "On getting a head: a problem in dependency grammar." Lingua, 62(1984), p. 25-42 and "Structure, class and dependency." Lingua, 64(1984), p. 25-62.
88. See section III of Chapter Three in this dissertation.
89. It is to be noted here that al-Jurjānī (400-471 A.H./1010-1078 A.D.), who lived before Ibn Maḍāʾ, discussed the term ta^cliq in a different approach from Ibn Maḍāʾ's. Ibn Maḍāʾ applied the term to explain the inflections and opposed the regency approach. Al-Jurjānī, however, applied the term to show the syntactic and semantic interrelationships between the words of the Qurʾān as a mu^cjiz 'inimitabile' book. He wrote a book entitled, "al-ʿawāmil al-miʾah" 'The One Hundred Regents.' So, he accepted the theory of regency and applied it like other grammarians. Prof. Raji Rammuny has written several important articles about al-Jurjānī and his concept of ta^cliq, entitled: "muṣṭalaḥ al-ta^cliq li-l^callāmah al-imām Abduḥḡāhir al-Jurjānī," al-thaqāfa al-ʿArabiyya, 8(1980), p. 69-78; "al-Jurjānī: A Forgotten Pioneer of Grammatical

and Linguistic Studies," (forthcoming), Department of Near Eastern Studies, The University of Michigan, p. 1-27; and "The Role of al-Jurjāni's concept of ta^cliq in the development of Arabic grammatical theory and linguistic analysis." See Note 47 above.

90. This is Bloomfield's (1927:28) theory as quoted from Jonathan Owens, 1984, p. 27.
91. See al-Zamakhshari, 1904, al-mufaṣṣal, p. 6. The structure of noun + verb is generated by the grammarians as of two other sentences: noun + noun and verb + noun as we will discuss below.
92. It is not an easy thing to distinguish between these technical terms when we use the English correspondents. But the point which may be suggested here is that the mubtadaʿ and the khavar do not always correspond to 'subject' and 'predicate' in English; on the contrary, they sometimes correspond to topic and comment. Moreover, al-musnad ilayhi and al-musnad in Arabic may correspond to subject and predicate in English more adequately than the mubtadaʿ and the khavar. This is because they both form the nominal sentence as well as the verbal one, regardless of their word order. In the nominal sentence, for example, zaydun qāʾimun 'Zayd is standing,' Zayd is the musnad ilayhi 'subject' and qāʾimun is the musnad 'predicate.' The same thing can be said about the verbal sentence zaydun qāma or qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood,' zaydun is musnad ilayhi and qāma is musnad in both sentences. On these terms, see Aryeh Levin, "The Grammatical terms al-musnad, al-musnad ilayhi and al-isnad," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 101 (1981), p. 145-167.
93. These are Carter's translations as he tried to establish a parallel between Arabic syntactic terminology and modern linguistic theory. See Carter, "An Arab Grammarian of the Eighth Century A.D." Journal of The American Oriental Society, 93.2(1973), p. 146-157.

94. This is Peterson's translation as he thinks that mawḍi^C and lafz function in their relation to each other in the same way as the terms "slot" and "filler" in tagmemic analysis. See Peterson, "Some explanatory methods of the Arabic grammarians," paper of the 8th regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, 1972, p. 504-515.
95. This is Versteegh's translation as he tries to define the Arabic terminology words in his article, "The Arabic Terminology of Syntactic Position." Arabica, v. 25, No. 3 (1978), p. 261-281.
96. Part II. of this chapter has ample examples of this type of analysis.
97. Many of these examples have been analyzed in Parts II and III of this chapter.
98. We do not aim here at analyzing the grammarians' method in the light of deep structure theory; on the contrary, we do aim at pointing out some of the negatives of the grammarians approach in terms of evaluation.
99. On these divisions, see al-Suyūṭī, ham^C al-hāwami^C, 1975, 1:194-243 and al-muqtaḍab, 1965, 1:261-268.
100. Bound pronouns do not precede a word but are suffixed to it such as: -tu '1st singular', -ta '2nd masculine singular', -ti '2nd feminine singular', and -na '1st plural' on perfect tense verbs.
101. Such as: huwa '3rd masculine singular', humā '3rd dual', hum '3rd masculine plural', hiya '3rd feminine singular', and hunna '3rd feminine plural.'
102. The nominative ones are such as: -t-, -na 'feminine plural', -ū- 'masculine plural', and -ā 'dual' occurring as subject markers on perfect tense verbs. The accusative and the genitive are such as: -ka '2nd masculine singular', -ki '2nd feminine singular', and -hu '3rd masculine singular.'
103. The nominative ones are like: anta '2nd masculine singular', antumā '2nd dual', antum '2nd masculine plural', anti '2nd feminine singular', and antunna '2nd feminine plural.' The accusative ones are such as: iiyāka '2nd masculine singular', iiyāki '2nd feminine singular', iiyākum '2nd masculine plural', and iiyākunna '2nd feminine plural.'

104. See rules (9) and (15) in part III. of Chapter Three.
105. For further study, see al-Suyūṭī, 1975, 1:194-243.
106. On the grammarians' analysis of these examples, see Ibn ^CAqīl, 1959, 1:269.
107. This ḥadīth is narrated by Malik in al-muwatṭaʿ?. Also, it is an example of the dialect which was called "the language of yata^Cāqabūna," which was the dialect of Azd, Ṭayʿ, and Bilḥarth b. Ka^Cb. See sharḥ Ibn ^CAqīl, 1:473.

CHAPTER FIVE
EVALUATION OF IBN MAḌĀ?'S CRITICISM
OF THE SECONDARY AND TERTIARY REASONS
AND MADE-UP EXAMPLES

I. Introduction

In all four madhāhib al-fiqh¹ 'orthodox legal schools,' the Qurʾān, the Sunnah, Ijmāʿ^c 'unanimous agreement,' and qiyās 'analogy' are the established basic sources of uṣūl al-fiqh 'the principles of the Islamic law.'

Above all, the problem of qiyās or raʾy 'opinion' was the object of ardent controversies, so much that we can even say that the differences among the madhāhib al-fiqh differ from each other in the earliest stages of their evolution in the extent to which they permit raʾy 'opinion' to be a determining factor in establishing Islamic law in a given case (Goldziher, p. 3).

The two extremes in this respect are represented by Abu Ḥanīfah and Dāwūd al-Zāhirī. The former made considerable concessions to raʾy while the latter refutes any justification for this. Between these two were Mālik b. Anas, al-Shāfiʿī^c, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

No doubt, the use of raʿy was motivated by the actual necessities. As Islām expanded in the areas outside its cradle, the Arabian Peninsula, the Muslims faced many problems urgently requiring instant solutions, to which the Qurʾān and the Sunnah did not give any direct answers. Thus, they were obliged to make decisions according to their ijtihād 'intellectual efforts.'²

People who defend raʿy argue that the authority of their ijtihād 'intellectual efforts' goes back to the prophet Muḥammad when he sent Muʿādh b. Jabal to Yemen. Muʿādh replied when he was asked on what principles he would administer law, that he would rely on his own raʿy in all cases for which he could not find an answer either in the Qurʾān or in the Ḥadīth. The Prophet consented to this with the following words: "Praise be to God that He helped the messenger of the Prophet of God to an insight that pleases the Prophet of God" (Goldziher : 9). Also, the second caliph ʿUmar gave the following instructions when Shurayḥ was sent out as a judge: "If you find something in Allāh's Book, consult no one else; if you are not clear about something in Allah's Book, then follow the Sunnah; however, should you not find this in the Sunnah either, then follow your own judgement independently" (Ibid. : 9).

In the first phase of Muslim history, judgement was still totally undefined, without any proper direction or method, and was based on the individual insight. It was

only in the following period that raʿy assumed a particular shape and began to move in a prescribed direction. Raʿy assumes now the logical form of qiyās. Formerly, it was said that a judge, when dealing with an unprecedented case, might use his own judgement in cases for which no transmitted or written positive law existed. Later on, however, it was specified and narrowed down to the meaning of qiyās.

This qiyās includes, as Nakamura (1974:95) states, technically two procedures. One is comparison. It means, in order to make a decision over a case about which the Qurʾān and the Sunnah are silent, to compare it with the similar cases which are already mentioned in the sacred sources. Secondly, the basis on which to compare is the ʿillah 'motive' or the spirit of the law. Suppose that the Qurʾān prohibits man from doing four things--A, B, C, and D. Then you examine the motive of the naṣṣ 'text' or the intention of the lawgiver, which is common to all four of these, and you determine the motive a. Now, if you find the same motive a in other cases, say E and F, about which no reference is made either in the Qurʾān or the Sunnah, then you may conclude that the same prohibition is applied to these cases in like manner.

In addition to the method of qiyās, each school developed other procedures to supplement the conclusion

drawn by qiyās. The Ḥanafīts have istiḥsān which is explained by Abu Yūsuf³ by the following: "According to the qiyās this and that would be prescribed but I have decided according to my opinion (istaḥsantu).". This principle of istiḥsān 'application of discretion in a legal decision' was limited by the Malikites by introducing the concept of maṣlaḥah⁴ 'common weal.' Al-Shāfi'ī, however, rejected both procedures and adopted instead a much more limited technical procedure, istiḥāb⁵ 'seeking for a link' to cope with the actual difficulties.

The Zāhirites, on the other hand, rejected all these procedures. They said that the text of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah must be interpreted and understood in its external or ẓāhir 'literal' sense (Goldziher, p. 30). They justified their rejection by stating that if the jurist had to deduce a more general proposition from the individual materials as mentioned above, the lawgiver would have so stated. In other words, the interpretation must be done exactly in accordance with the written word. Nothing more nor less. Furthermore, it is impossible to ask about the ʿillah 'motive' or 'reason' of the Divine Law.⁶

The orthodox schools developed another technique to interpret the texts and apply them to the actual situations. This is the so-called al-aḥkām al-khamsah 'the five categories of regulation.' These are:⁷ (1) al-wājib or al-fard 'the obligatory'; (2) al-mandūb or al-

mustahabb 'the recommended'; (3) al-mubāḥ 'the permitted' or 'the allowed'; (4) al-makrūh 'the disapproved'; (5) al-ḥarām or al-maḥzūr 'the forbidden'; Let us see some examples of the above categories:

The Qurʾān says:

yā ayyuhā alladhīna ʾāmanū idhā cumtum ilā al-ṣalāti fa-ghsilū wujūhakum wa-aydiyakum ilā al-marāfiq wa-mṣaḥū bi-ruʾūsikum wa-arjulakum ilā al-kaʿbayni (Sūra 5:6).

'O ye who believe! When ye prepare for prayer, wash your faces, and your hands to the elbows; wipe your heads and (wash) your feet to the ankles! (Yūsuf Ali, : 242).

All of the orthodox schools consider the ṣalāt 'prayer' as fard 'obligatory' but the wuḍūʾ 'ablution' as mustahabb 'recommended.' One need perform his ablutions only once a day, the purified state lasting throughout the whole day so long as it is not broken by some act which requires another ablution.⁸ The Zāhirites, however, reject such an interpretation, stressing the literal meaning of the text, and claiming that ablution is required before each ritual prayer since it is wājib 'obligatory.'⁹

As another example of the way the Islamic schools interpret the texts, the Qurʾān says:

wa-in khiftum allā tuqsitū fī al-yatāmā fa-inkihu mā ṭāba lakum min al-nisāʾi mathnā wa-thulātha wa-rubāʿa fa-in khiftum allā taʿdilū fa-wāhidah aw mā malakat aymānukum dhālika adnā allā taʿūlu (Sura 4:3).

If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them) then only one, or (a captive) that your right hands possess. That will be more suitable, to prevent you from doing inujustice (Yusuf Ali, : 179).

The four Islamic schools agree on the judgement that every Muslim is allowed to get married, or that God has recommended married life to the Muslim, but that it is not obligatory. On the other hand, the ṣāḥirites claim from the imperative form fa-nkiḥū 'then get married' that marriage is wājib 'obligatory' for all Muslims who have filled the conditions required in the above-quoted verse.¹⁰

As an example of the way the Islamic schools interpret the ḥadīth, it is narrated¹¹ that the Prophet said: ghuslu yawmi l-jumu'ati wājibun 'alā kulli muḥtalimin--"Taking the Friday bath is obligatory for all who have reached the age of puberty."

The Islamic schools understood from the Prophet's Ḥadīth that the duty prescribed in this law is not in the nature of an obligation, but merely a good Sunnah 'custom.' In this regard, too, the ṣāḥirites¹² rejected all interpretations which used ta'wīl 'avoiding the external meaning' and understood that it is obligatory for a Muslim to take the Friday bath if the conditions in the above Ḥadīth are met.

As a final example of their interpretation, the Qurʾān prohibits the taking of ribā 'interest' in several places (2:275-279; 3:130, 30:39), but no mention is made about conditions. In the Ḥadīth concerning usury, six commodities are mentioned on which it is prohibited to practice usury. They are: al-dhahab 'gold,' al-fidḍah 'silver,' al-burr 'wheat,' al-shaʿīr 'barley,' al-tamr 'dates,' and al-zabīb 'raisins.'¹³ The Islamic schools try to determine the common ʿillah 'motive' or 'reason' because of which each of these is forbidden; namely, the genus to which each of these species belongs, and they draw the following conclusions: according to Rabiʿah, teacher of Mālik b. Anas, the prohibition of ribā has something to do with all the things which are subject to the zakāt 'obligatory alms.' Therefore, the same prohibition is applied to domestic animals and riding animals. The Ḥanafites say that the first two items are the examples of the whole genus, which can be counted by wazn 'weight.' Al-Shāfiʿī's school sees in these items the representatives of every thing of jins al-athmān 'valuable things,' and the fruits are mentioned merely as examples of maṭʿūmat 'food.' Therefore, according to these schools, the prohibition of usury is applicable not only to those goods mentioned in the Ḥadīth, but also to all the goods which come under the same category.

On the other hand, the Ṣāhirites cannot admit of this kind of "arbitrary subjective" interpretation of the text based on syllogism; if the Prophet had meant those classes, he would have used the names of the classes rather than expressing specifically only six items.¹⁴ As far as the Ṣāhirite school is concerned, the text should be interpreted externally and without ta^clīl 'motive-seeking.'

As there are uṣūlu l-figh 'the principles of Islamic law,' the grammarians say there are uṣūlu l-naḥw¹⁵ 'the principles of grammar.' According to most of them,¹⁶ the principles of grammar are: al-naql or al-naṣṣ 'the text,' al-qiyaṣ 'analogy,' and istiṣḥābu l-hāl or aṣlu l-qā^cidah 'the original rule.' The most debatable principle between the grammarians and Ibn Maḍā? is the second principle above, because it leads to the concept of ta^clīl 'motive-seeking' and in particular to the secondary and tertiary reasons. This does not mean that Ibn Maḍā? calls for the abolition of qiyaṣ as some modern authors think;¹⁷ on the contrary, he calls for the abolition of al-^cilal al-thawānī wa-al-thawālith 'the secondary and tertiary reasons.' We will discuss this aspect in Part III of this chapter.

Below I will (1) present the grammarians' views and practices in regard to the concept of ta^clīl; (2) examine Ibn Maḍā?'s criticism of al-^cilal al-thawānī wa-al-thawālith; (3) present Ibn Maḍā?'s view of made-up

examples; and (4) evaluate Ibn Maḍā's criticism by discussing the originality of his views and pointing out the most positive points of his ideas.

II. The Adoption of the Concept of Ta^llīl By the Arab Grammarians

As a general term, ta^llīl is a verbal noun which means "seeking motives." In grammar, it is to notice a reason or a cause or a motive for an occurrence of a particular grammatical phenomenon or for a grammatical rule. Thus, one may say that the theory of the ḥāmil, which we discussed before, is a notion of ta^llīl. This is true in a general sense, but they vary in the ways the Arab grammarians adopted them during the development of grammatical theory. At this time, I shall point out four important differences: (1) the theory of the ḥāmil was mainly adopted by the grammarians to explain the phenomenon of iḥrāb 'inflections' as we explained in Chapter Three; but the concept of ta^llīl, as we will show, is not only to explain inflections but also other grammatical features; (2) the ḥāmil normally explains inflections when a feature agrees with the primary rule; contrary to this, the ta^llīl, in the later grammarians' version of it, explains features which do not necessarily agree with their primary rules; (3) the concept of ta^llīl is mostly linked with the principle of qiyās 'analogy' in

order to invent rules; the ʿāmil, however, is not; (4) finally, taʿlīl, especially later on, is part of four main elements in making grammatical judgements; these are: maqisun ʿalayhi or asl 'origin,' maqisun or farʿ 'branch,' ʿillah 'motive,' and ḥukm 'judgement,' while the ʿāmil does not depend on these elements.

The above illustration does not mean that the concept of taʿlīl was adopted in the same way by all grammarians, nor does it mean that every one of them discussed this concept; on the contrary, it was practiced differently from phase to phase through the development of Arabic grammatical theory.

For a better understanding of the development of this concept as adopted by the grammarians, and for the purposes of understanding Ibn Maḍāʾi's criticism of some types of taʿlīl, I shall distinguish between three¹⁸ major types of ʿilal 'motives': (1) al-ʿilal al-taʿlīmiyyah 'the instructional motives/arguments;' (2) al-ʿilal al-qiyaṣiyyah 'the analogical motives;' (3) al-ʿilal al-naẓariyyah wa-al-jadaliyyah 'the theoretical and argumental motives.'

A. al-ʿilal al-taʿlīmiyyah 'the instructional/primary motives'

It is believed by some biographers that al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 117/734) was the first grammarian to practice taʿlīl in Arabic grammar, especially for learners to understand grammatical phenomena. Ibn Sallām (1974:6),

who died 232/846 and al-Anbārī (1973:12), who died 577/1181, provide that account. But we do not have ample examples of his ta^clīl since he did not leave any book nor can his ideas be found in others' books.

Unlike al-Ḥaḍramī, al-Khalīl's (d. 175/792) views are stated in Sībawayhi's Book. He practices, for instance, al-istikhfāf 'easing/lightening' motive in many of his explanations. For example:

- (1a) huwa kā?inu akhīka
 he being your brother
 (nom) (gen)

'He is your brother'

- (1b) huwa kā?inun akhāka
 (nom) (acc)

al-khalīl states that the above examples have exactly the same meaning, but kā?inu in (1a) has lost its nunation because of the lightening motive (Sībawayhi, 1:295).

Sībawayhi practices al-istikhfāf 'easing' and al-thiqal 'difficult' motives to explain some grammatical features. Look at the following confirmative and instructive way as he states in one page (1:22):

wa-^clam anna al-nakirata akhaffu ^calayhim min al-ma^crifatī, wa-hiya ashaddu tamakkunan, li-anna al-nakirata awwalun, thumma yadkhulu ^calayhā mā tu^carrafa bihi. fa-min thamma aktharu l-kalāmi yaṣṣarifū fī al-nakirati wa-^clam anna al-wāḥida ashaddu tamakkunan min al-jamī^ci, li-anna al-wāḥida al-awwalu, wa-min thamma lam yaṣṣrifū mā jā?a min al-jamī^ci mā jā?a ^calā mithālin laysa yakūnu li-alwāḥidi, naḥwa masājida wa-mafātiḥa wa-^clam anna al-mudhakkara akhaffu ^calayhim min al-mu?annathi li-anna al-mudhakkara awwalu, wa-huwa ashaddu tamakkunan, wa-innamā yakhruju al-

ta?nīthu min al-tadhkīri...fa-al-tanwīnu
 Calāmatun li-al-amkani Cindahum wa-al-akhaffu
 Calayhim, wa-tarkuhu Calamātun li-mā
 yastathqilūna.

And be informed that indefiniteness is lighter on for them (Arabs) than definiteness and it is more declinable because it is primary, then there is affixed to it that which makes it definite; therefore, most of the utterances are inflected in the indefinite. And be informed that the singular form is more declinable than the plural form, because the singular is primary; therefore, they (Arabs) do not decline the plural forms which do not come through the primary rule of their singular forms, as in masājid 'mosques' and mafātiḥ 'keys.' And be informed that the masculine is lighter on for them than the feminine because the masculine is primary and it is more declinable, indeed the feminine form comes out of the masculine form. Thus, nunation is a marker for what is declinable and easier for them, and avoiding nunation is a sign of what they consider to be heavy.

Al-Farrā? (d. 207/817) notices heaviness or difficultness in verbs and the lightness in nouns and considers this a reason for nouns to have nunation while verbs do not.¹⁹ Al-Zajjājī (1982:98), however, considers nunation as an indefinite marker and gives examples of foreign proper nouns in Arabic like Sībawayhi and Naftawayhi and how they take nunation when they are indefinite.

Another rule which is justified by the al-khiffah and al-ththiqal motives is the grammarians' explanation of the reason which makes nouns not take the jussive [mood] marker and nor verbs to take the genitive [case] marker. The Baṣrans and the Kūfans state that the reason is that

verbs are heavy while nouns are light (al-Zajjājī, 1982:105-106).

Of this type of ta^Clīl, the common practice of the Arabs can be considered as a primary argument for almost all of the grammarians' analyses and rules. This is why Sībawayhi makes judgements like: yajūzu aw lā yajūzu 'it is permitted or not,' yaḥsunu aw la yaḥsunu 'it is good or not,' ʿarabiyyun aw laysa ʿarabiyyan 'good Arabic or not,' and alike.²⁰ Thus, if a construction is not kathīr 'frequent' it is considered irregular. For example, yā anta 'O you' is shādhdh 'irregular' because it is not 'frequent' (Sībawayhi, 1:295).

There are many other examples of al-ʿilal ta^Clīmīyah which were made by the grammarians, especially in the first phase of Arabic grammar. If we examine these motivations we will conclude that most of them are: (1) purely grammatical; (2) deduced from the way Arabs speak; (3) verb distillation of the wisdom of the Arabs when they constructed the Arabic language; (4) not greatly affected by ʿilmu l-kalām 'scholastic theology'; (5) nor dependent on the Greek elements as Versteegh²¹ generalized.

B. al-ʿilal al-qiyaṣīyah 'the analogically-based motives'

In this type of ta^Clīl a grammarian tries to make a comparison or a contrast between two cases, one of which

is aṣl 'primary' and the other is far^C 'secondary' extracts the motive between them, and then makes a judgement. The grammarians' books are filled with this type because, as Ibn al-Anbārī (1963:44) states, "Grammar is nothing but analogy." We would like to give a few examples of the grammarians' practices in regard to this type of ta^Clīl.

Al-Khalīl justifies the inflections of the vocative by comparing them with the cases of qabla(u) 'before' and ba^Cda(u) 'after.' Observe the following examples:

- (2) yā ḥabḍa llāhi
 O servant God
 (acc) (gen)

'O servant of God'

- (3) yā rajulan ṣāliḥan
 O man good
 (acc) (acc)

'O some good man (somewhere)!'

- (4) yā zaydu 'O Zayd'
 O Zayd
 (nom)

Al-Khalīl (Sībawayhi, 2:183-85) explains the reason which puts al-munādā 'the vocative' sometimes in the accusative as in (2) and (3) above, and other times in the nominative as in (4) by stating that the munādā construction is similar to the case of qablaka and ba^Cdaka in (5) and (6) below:

- (5) huwa qablaka wa-huwa ba^Cdaka
 he before you and he after you
 (acc) (acc)

'He is before you and after you'

- (6) min gablu wa-min ba^Cdu
 since before and since after
 (nom) (nom)

'Since before and since after'

Al-Khalīl adds that the munādā's in (2) and (3) are not mufrad 'one word,' just as gablaka and ba^Cdaka in (5) are not. The munādā in (4), however, is mufrad like the constructions gablu and ba^Cdu in (6). Therefore, the vocatives in (2) and (3) are put in the accusative just like gablaka and ba^Cdaka in (5), while Zaydu in (4) is put in the nominative similar to gablu and ba^Cdu in (6).

As another example of al-Khalīl's comparison, al-Khalīl (Sībawayhi, 2:196) considers the mā in allāhumma 'O God' to be in the position of yā in yā allāhu 'O God.' Also, kilā 'both (masc.)' and kiltā 'both (fem.)' are similar to alā 'on' and ladā 'to have' as the vowel /ā/ is changed to /y/ in the accusative and genitive cases.

Al-Khalīl also generates lan 'will not' from lā 'do not' and an 'that' (conjunction) because of two motives: (1) they both have a negative meaning; (2) they both put the imperfect verb in the subjunctive mood if they occur before it.²²

Al-Khalīl knew that Arabs had not known these reasons when they spoke Arabic, but he justifies his practice of ilal by the following answer as reported by al-Zajjājī (1982:65-66):

wa-dhakara ba^Cdu shuyūkhinā anna al-khalīla ibna aḥmadaḥ raḥimahu allāhu, su?ila ^Can al-^Cilali allatī ya^Ctallu bihā fī al-naḥwi, fa-qīla lahu: ^Can l-^Carabi akhadhtahā am-khtara^Ctahā min nafsika? fa-qāla: inna al-^Caraba naṭaqat ^Calā sajiyyatihā wa-ṭibā^Cihā. wa-^Carafat mawāqī^Cā kalāmihā, wa-qāma fī ^Cuqūlihā ^Cilaluhu, wa-in lam yunqal dhālika ^Canhā, wa-^Ctalaltu anā bi-mā ^Cindī annahu ^Cillatun li-mā ^Callaltuhu minhu fa-in akun aṣabtu l-^Cillata fa-huwa alladhī ltamastu. wa-in takun hunāka ^Cillatun lahu fa-mathalī fī dhālika mathalu rajulin hakīmin dakhala dāran muḥkamata l-binā?i, ^Cajībata al-nuzumī wa-al-aqsāmi, wa-qad ṣaḥḥat ^Cindahū hikmatu bānīhā bi-al-khabari al-ṣādiqī aw bi-al-barāhīni al-wāḍihati wa-al-ḥujajī al-lā?ihati, fa-kullamā waqafa ḥādhā al-rajulu fī al-dāri ^Calā shay?in minhā qāla: innamā fa^Cala ḥādhā hakadhā li-^Cillati kadhā wa-kadhā, wa-li-sababi kadhā wa-kadhā. sanahat lahu wa-khaṭarat bi-bālihi muḥtamalatun li-dhālika, fa-jā?izun an yakūna al-ḥakīmu al-bānī li-al-dāri fa^Cala dhālika li-al-^Cillati allatī dhakarahaḥ ḥādhā alladhī dakhala al-dāra, wa-jā?izun an yakūna fi^Cluhu li-ghayri tilka al-^Cillati, illā anna dhālika mimmā dhakarahu ḥādhā al-rajulu muḥtamalun an yakūna ^Cillatan li-dhālika. fa-in sanaha li-ghayri ^Cillatun li-mā ^Callaltuhu min al-naḥwi huwa alyaqu mimmā dhakartuhu bi-al-ma^Clūli fa-l-ya?ti bihā

And some of our scholars have said that al-Khalīl bin Aḥmad--may God have mercy on him--was asked about the motives which he illustrated; they asked him: Did you obtain these from the Arabs or did you invent them by yourself? He replied: The Arabs speak according to their nature character. They know the positions of their utterances, and the reasons were understood even if this was not reported about them. So, if I am right about the motive, then this is what I wanted. However, if there is another reason, then my situation would be similar to that wise man who entered a house which was perfectly constructed and fantastically organized, and he believed that the architecture was very correct because of the right informant or the clear proofs and the arguments which appeared, for, whenever that man would notice some of this (perfect construction) he would say: Indeed he (the builder) built this like this because of this reason and that, or because of this cause or that, which might have come to his mind. Thus, it is possible that the wise builder built the

house according to the motives which the wise man mentioned; also it is possible that his action was for other than that motive, however, it is still possible that what the man mentioned of reasons are the causes for that structure. Therefore, if someone could notice a better grammatical motive other than what I mentioned, then he would be expected to present it.

Sībawayhi practices this type of ta^clīl even more than his teacher, al-Khalīl. It is true that he did not use the terms sabab or ḥillah 'reason/cause' more than nine times as Carter (1968:256) states, but his conclusion that Sībawayhi had little, if any, interest in practicing the concept of grammatical causation is not accurate.²³ There are many examples of his approach practice. For example:

Sībawayhi has recourse to al-manzila 'comparison' motive on almost every page of his book.²⁴ It is notable that he concentrates on the semantic similarities more than al-Khalīl does. For example, he (2:325) makes a comparison between alā and lākin 'but' and concludes that they have the same meaning. Also mudh is compared with idh 'since' (3:308), ḥasbu 'enough' is similar to qattu 'only/never' (2:310), and ladā in the position of ḥinda 'beside' (2:312).

As another example, Sībawayhi practices al-mufāraqah 'contrast/dissimilarity' motive to make a distinction between the rules which are related to one category of morphological forms and the others. For example, he explains (1:17) the dissimilarity between the case markers

of the dual forms and that of the plural's by stating that it is to make a distinction between the dual forms and the plural ones which are formed by suffixations as he says:

wa-^Clam annaka idhā thannayta l-wāḥida laḥiqathu ziyādatāni: al-ʔūlā minhumā ḥarfū l-maddi wa-llini wa-huwa ḥarfū al-i^Crābi ghayri mutaḥarrikin wa-lā munawwanin, yakūnu fī al-raf^Ci alifan, wa-lam yakun wāwan li-yufṣala bayna al-tathniyati wa-ljam^Ci alladhī ^Calā ḥaddi al-tathniyati, wa-yakūnu fī al-jarri yāʔan maftūḥan mā qablaha, wa-lam yuksar li-yufṣala bayna al-tathniyati wa-al-jam^Ci alladhī ^Calā ḥaddi al-tathniyati wa-yakūna fī al-naṣbi kadhālika, wa-lam yaj^Calū al-naṣba alifan li-yakūna mithlahu fī al-jam^Ci

And be informed that if you formed a dual from a singular, it (the dual form) would be attached to two suffixes: the first one is the prolonged-soft letter that is the inflection marker, which does not have a vowel, not it has a nunation. In the nominative case, it is alif 'ā'; it was not wāw 'ū' in order to make a distinction between the dual form and the plural (sound) which is formed by suffixation like the dual. In the genitive case, it is yāʔ 'y' preceded by fatha 'a' vowel; it was not preceded by a kasra 'i' in order to make a distinction between the dual and the plural (sound) which is formed by suffixation like the dual. In the accusative case, it is the same as in the genitive; it was not alif 'ā' for the same purpose of dissimilarity with the plural.

There are many other examples of this type of ta^Clīl, especially on the part of those grammarians who appeared in the second and third phase²⁵ of the development of Arabic grammar, such as al-Mubarrid²⁶ (d. 285/897), Ibn al-Sarrāj²⁷ (d. 310/921), Ibn Jinnī²⁸ (d. 392/1004), al-Zamakhsharī²⁹ (d. 538/1143), and others.

C. al-^Cilal al-nazariyyah wa-al-jadaliyyah 'The theoretical and argumental reasons'

In this type of ^Cilal a grammarian does not stop with the first or second ^Cillah but tries to justify both of them by means of another ^Cillah. This is why some grammarians³⁰ call it ^Cillatu l-^Cillah 'the reason for the reason.' A typical example is the following:³¹ If someone asks why zaydan takes the accusative marker in a sentence like inna zaydan qā'imun 'indeed, Zayd is standing,' the answer is because it is ism inna the noun of inna (i.e., subject). This is the first ^Cillah. If one asks why inna governs a noun (i.e., subject) and makes it accusative, the answer is because inna and its sisters resemble a transitive verb and so govern like verbs. Thus, the accusative noun of inna (i.e., subject) resembles the object of the verb (i.e., accusative) and the predicate of inna resembles the subject of the verb (i.e., nominative). This is the second ^Cillah. If one of them asks, which kind of verbs does inna resemble, perfect or imperfect ones? Why do you compare it with verbs? Why do not you liken the subject of inna to the subject of the verb and the predicate of inna to the object of the verb?...etc. All of the answers to this type of question are considered ^Cilal nazariyyah wa-jadaliyyah 'theoretical and argumental reasons.'

It is to be noted that this type of ta^Clīl appears in many of the grammarians' books, especially in the fourth

and fifth Islamic centuries. For instance, Muḥammad b. Kaysān (d. 320/931) wrote a book entitled, al-mukhtār fī 'Cilal al-naḥw, 'The selected of the grammatical reasons,' Al-Zajjājī (d. 337/948) is known in his book, al-īdāḥ fī 'Cilal al-naḥw 'the clarification of the reasons in grammar,' Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Askarī (d. 345/955) wrote, al-naḥw al-majmū' 'Cilāl al-'Cilal 'A grammar organized according to the reasons,' Ibn al-warrāq (d. 381/990) wrote 'Cilal al-naḥw 'the reasons of grammar,' and many other books which have not come down to us.

All of this shows the importance of 'Cilal at that time and how far they were affected by logic and other sciences.

The three main types of 'Cilal above, ta'clīmiyyah, qiyāsiyyah, and jadaliyyah, can be sub-categorized into more than twenty 'Cillah. Each 'Cillah can be ta'clīmiyyah or a primary one if we stop with that motive or qiyāsiyyah if we compare it with other rules, or jadaliyyah if we extend the questions and the explanations of each topic.

Below are the sub-categories of the 'Cilal which can be found in the grammarians' books:³²

1. 'Cillatu al-samā'³³ 'The reason of usage' as they say:

(7) imra'atun thadyā'un 'a full-bosomed woman' but we cannot say:

(8) rajulun athdā 'a full-breasted man' because this is the way Arabs speak.

2. Cillatu al-tashbīh 'the similarity reason' as when the grammarians³⁴ justify the reason which makes the imperfect verb declinable by stating that it resembles the noun.

3. Cillatu al-istighnā? 'the dispensable reason.' The grammarians say that Arabs dispense with using the verb waḍaʿa 'to leave' by using taraka 'to leave.'³⁵

4. Cillatu al-istithqāl³⁶ 'the heaviness reason.' The grammarians state that the w is deleted in yawʿid 'he promises' because it is too heavy to occur between ya and i; thus, yawʿidu → yaʿidu 'he promises.'

5. Cillatu al-farq³⁷ 'the dissimilarity reason.' The grammarians argue that the fāʿil 'subject (of a verb)' takes a nominative marker and the object takes the accusative marker to distinguish between them.

6. Cillatu al-tawkid³⁸ 'the emphasis reason.' The grammarians explain the reason which makes the imperative verb take the suffix -an or -anna by stating that this is for reasons of emphasis.

7. Cillatu al-mujāwarah³⁹ 'the neighboring reason.' The grammarians state that kharibin in (9) below is in the genitive rather than the nominative case because it is next to a preceding word in the genitive case:

(9)	<u>hādhā</u>	<u>juḥru</u>	<u>dabbin</u>	<u>kharibin</u>
	this	den	lizard	ruined
		(nom)	(gen)	(gen)

'This is a ruined lizard's den'

8. Cillatu al-ta^Cwīd⁴⁰ 'the substitution reason.' They claim that the suffix -ma in allahumma 'O God' substitutes for the vocative particle yā 'O.'

9. Cillatu al-takhfīf⁴¹ 'the lightening/easing reason.' Like their justification of the reason which makes nouns not take the jussive (mood) marker nor verbs to take the genitive (case) marker.

10. Cillatu al-awlawiyyah⁴² 'the priority reason,' namely, that the fā^Cil 'subject of a verb' has priority over the object in word order.

11. Cillatu al-ikhtiṣār 'the abbreviating reason' as in al-tarkhīm 'apocopation of a name in the vocative by elision of the final consonant,' for example:

(10) yā nāqatu → yā nāqu 'O camel (f)'
(al-Suyūṭī, 1977, 3:76)

12. Cillatu al-tanzīr 'the parallel reason.' Laysa is a verb despite the fact that it is (in the view of the Arabs) "indeclinable" because we can say lastu 'I am not,' lastumā 'you (two) have not,' lasnā 'we are not,' lasna 'they (f) are not,' lastunna 'you (2.f) are not,' etc., just as we say ḍarabtu 'I hit,' ḍarabtuma 'you (two) hit,' ḍarabna 'we hit,' ḍarabna 'they (f) hit,' and ḍarabtunna 'you (2.f) hit' respectively (Tammam Hassan, 1981:201).

13. Cillatu al-naqīḍ⁴³ 'the opposite reason.' The grammarians state that an indefinite noun takes the accusative marker when it occurs after lā 'no,' as in lā shayʿa 'nothing,' because the lā governs like its opposite

particle inna which is for emphasis.

14. ʿillatu al-ḥamli ʿalā al-maʿnā⁴⁴ 'the reason of agreeing with the meaning.' For example:

- (11) fa-man jāʾahu mawʿizatun min rabbihi
and whoever came to him advice(nom) from his Lord

'And whoever has received advice from his Lord'

In the above example, the verb masculine jāʾahu does not agree with its subject feminine mawʿizatun in terms of gender but it does agree with the meaning of mawʿizatun, that is waʿzun 'admonition, sermon,' as mawʿizatun is feminine while waʿzun is masculine.

15. ʿillatu l-muʿāḍalah 'the balancing reason.' The grammarians use this motive when they explain the reason for diptote nouns' taking the accusative marker for the genitive singular case, and for the sound feminine plural nouns' taking the genitive marker in the accusative case (Muḥammad ʿĪd, 1973:129).

16. ʿillatu al-ishʿār 'the indication reason.' The grammarians explain the existence of /-a/ in muṣṭafawna the plural of muṣṭafā 'Muṣṭafā,' (instead of the expected muṣṭafūna) mūsawna the plural of mūsā 'Mūsā,' yasʿawn from yasʿā 'he hastens,' and yardawn from yardā 'they are satisfied,' by arguing that the /-a/ indicates that the original form has alif 'ā' (Tammām Ḥassān, 1981:204).

17. ʿillatu al-wujūb⁴⁵ 'the obligatory reason.' This is the motive by which the grammarians justify the nominative case of the fāʿil 'subject of the verb' when

they assert that it is obligatory as the nominative case marker.

18. ʿillatu al-jawāz⁴⁵ 'the optional reason.' Like the possibility of making the predicate precede its subject in the nominal sentence.

19. ʿillatu al-asli 'the priority reason.' This is the same reason as ʿillatu al-awlawiyyah, number 10.

20. ʿillatu dalālati l-ḥāl⁴⁶ 'the understood reason.' When a person says al-hilāl 'the crescent' he declares ḥādhā 'this (is)' because the present situation (ḥāl) indicates it.

III. Ibn Maḍāʾ's Criticism of the Secondary and Tertiary Reasons

Ibn Maḍāʾ (p. 127) distinguishes between three main types of ʿilal in Arabic grammar: (1) al-ʿilal al-awāʾil 'the primary reasons'; (2) al-ʿilal al-thawānī 'the secondary reasons'; (3) al-ʿilal al-ththawālith 'the tertiary reasons.'

A. al-ʿilal al-awāʾil 'the primary reasons'

In this type of ʿilal a grammarian instructs others on the way the Arabs spoke their language. Because of this, Ibn Maḍāʾ emphasizes the importance of these ʿilal and prompts the grammarians to analyze the Arabic language through its texts and to justify the grammatical rules through the necessary ʿilal. For example, to take the sentence

- (12) qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood up'
(nom)

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 127) states the following:

wa-dhālika mithlu su?āli al-sā?ili ^Can zaydin min qawlinā: qāma zaydun. lima rufi^Ca? fa-yuqāl: li-annahu fā^Cilun, wa-kullu fā^Cilin marfū^Cun. fa-yaqūlu: wa-lima rufi^Ca al-fā^Cilu? fa-al-sawābu an yuqāla lahu: kadhā naṭaḡat bihi al-^Carabu, thabata dhālika bi-al-stiqrā?i min al-kalāmi, wa-lā farqa baynahu wa-bayna man ^Carafa anna shay?an mā ḥarāmun bi-al-naṣṣi, wa-la yaḥtāju fihi ilā istinbāṭi ^Cillatin li-yanqula hukmahu ilā ḡhayrihi, fa-sa?ala: lima hurrima? fa-inna l-jawāba ^Calā dhālika ḡhayru wājibin ^Calā al-faḡihi

And this is similar to one's question: why is Zaydun nominative in our utterance qāma zaydun? The response is that it is the fā^Cil "subject of the verb," and every fā^Cil is nominative. Then he asks, Why is the fā^Cil nominative? The right response to him is that this is how the Arabs speak and this has been established by thorough study of recurrent speech. There is no difference between this person and the one who knows that something is textually forbidden. There is no need to seek a motive in order to apply his decision to other cases. If one asks, Why is it forbidden? the jurist does not have to answer.

Through the above text, we notice Ibn Maḍā?'s acceptance of the necessary reasons and his emphasis on the way Arabs spoke. He is also affected by his Zāhirite school when he gave an example of the way he looks at the forbidden things through texts.

On the same example which he gave, Ibn Maḍā? (p. 127) tries to examine other arguments and justifications by stating that if our response to the second question above was that to differentiate⁴⁷ between the fā^Cil and the maf^Cūl, then the one who asks would not be convinced.

This is because he might ask, Why do not you make the fā^Cil in the accusative and the maf^Cūl in the nominative? Again, if the answer is because the fā^Cil is less frequent since there is only one fā^Cil for a verb, whereas there is more than one object, then the heavier inflectional vowel /u/ is given to the fā^Cil. The lighter inflectional vowel /a/ is given to the object because there is only one fā^Cil while there may be many objects. This reduces number of heavy things in the speech of the Arabs and increases the things that are easy. Ibn Maḍā? asserts that: (1) all of the above arguments will not increase our knowledge with respect to the fā^Cil being nominative; (2) the ignorance of the above motives will not harm us. Since the nominativeness of the fā^Cil was proven to be correct through the thorough examination of recurrent speech. Therefore, the primary reason is necessary to our knowledge but the others, however, are not.

After that type of discussion, Ibn Maḍā? moves on to discuss the categories of the secondary and tertiary reasons.

B. The Secondary and Tertiary Reasons

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 127) classifies these reasons into three categories: (1) The maqṭū^Cun bihi 'absolutely certain'; (2) the type which has some iqnā^C 'convincing'; and (3) the type which is fāsid 'absolutely fallacious.'

1. The Absolutely Certain Reasons

Ibn Maḍāʾ (p. 128) discusses three sub-categories of this kind of ta^clīl: (a) Ḷillatu ltiqāʾi al-sākinayni 'the reason for the occurrence of two unvowelled letters' (i.e., consonant clusters); (b) Ḷillatu Ḷadami al-ibtidāʾi bi-al-sākini 'the impossibility of starting with unvowelled letter' (i.e., consonant and cluster after pause); and (c) Ḷillatu al-istikhfāf 'the lightening/easing reason.'

a. Ḷillatu ltiqāʾi al-sākinayni 'the reason for the occurrence of two unvowelled letters.'

Ibn Maḍāʾ states that if two unvowelled letters occur together and one of them is not a weak letter (w or y), then one of them will be vowelled if we do not pause at the end of the first letter. Below are some examples:

(13a) akrim -l-qawma

'Honor the people'

(13b) akrimi -l-qawma

(14a) qum -l-layla

'Stand (to prayer) by night

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 73:2)

(14b) gumi -l-layla

(15a) wa-dhkur -sma rabbika

'And keep in remembrance the name of the Lord'

(the Qurʾān, Sūra 73:8)

(15b) wa-dhkuri -sma rabbika

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 129) argues as follows: If someone asks why the letter /-m/ is not vowelled in (13a) and (14a) but it is vowelled in (13b) and (14b), and why the /-r/ is not vowelled in (15a) but it is vowelled in (15b), the answer will be because they occur before an unvowelled letter, namely, the definite article -l-. Thus, whenever two unvowelled letters occur like this, one of them must be vowelled. One might ask a second question: Why are the two not left unvowelled? The response is that the speaker cannot pronounce a sequence of two unvowelled letters: This reason is in the absolute category, and it is a secondary one.

b. Cillatu Cadami l-ibtidā?i bi-al-sākini 'the impossibility of starting with the unvowelled letter.' Ibn Maḍā? (p. 129) states that if we want to form an imperative verb from an indicative one which has any of the four subject-marker prefixes followed by an unvowelled letter, then the prefix letter should be deleted and alifu l-waṣli 'the connection article alif' should be inserted.

For example:

- (16) yaktub → ktub → ?uktub
 'he writes' 'write!'
- (17) yal^Cab → l^Cab → ?il^Cab
 'he plays' 'play!'

Ibn Maḍā? argues as follows: If someone asks why the connecting letter is inserted, the response is because it is an imperative verb from which the prefix has been deleted. Further, every imperative verb from which the

prefix is removed receives an alif of connection. If a second question is posed--Why is the beginning of the verb not left as it is?--the response is that it is impossible for a speaker to begin with an unvowelled letter. This reason is also a secondary one.

c. Ḳillatu l-istikhfāf 'the lightening/easing reason'

There are some derivatives in Arabic in which the /y/ is derived from /w/. For example:

(18) miw^Ḳād → miy^Ḳād → mī^Ḳād 'appointment'

(19) miwzān → miyzān → mīzān
'scale'

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 129) states that the proof of this original /w/ is that their verbs are wa^Ḳada 'to promise' and wazana 'to weigh,' where the /w/ occurs. Furthermore, their plurals are: mawā^Ḳīd 'appointments' and mawāzīn 'scales.' Thus, the /w/ exists in their original forms. Because the /w/ is unvowelled and preceded by /-i/, it is changed to /y/. If one asks why it is changed and it is not left the way it was, the response is because it is easier for us to pronounce it. This is a secondary reason and it is a clear one.

2. The Unclear Reasons

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 130) discusses the second category of reasons which have some convincing motives but they are not very clear and, thus, there is no need for them. To

explain this type, Ibn Maḍā? examines the grammarians' argument regarding declinable verbs. I shall organize the discussion as follows:

a. The Problem

Why is the imperfect verb, which begins with any of the four prefixes, a mu^Crab 'inflected' verb? For example: yaktubu 'he writes,' aktubu 'I write,' naktubu 'we write,' taktubu 'you (or she) writes'...etc. These verbs can be indicative, subjunctive or jussive. Thus, their final vowels are changeable, and are called mu^Crab 'inflected' (i.e., inflectable for mood).

b. The Grammarians' Arguments

The grammarians (Ibn Maḍā?, p. 130) argue that these verbs are inflected because of their similarity to nouns. That is to say, they resemble nouns, i.e., the indicative verb and the noun serve for the present and the future. Moreover, indefinite nouns are general (i.e., indefinite), so that if the speaker wishes to apply them to something specific, he adds the definite article to the noun and removes the general sense of the noun. Likewise, if the speaker wishes to specify future action, he adds the future particle sa- or sawfa 'will' before the verb. Thus, both the noun and the indicative verb become specific by means of prefixation. Moreover, the inflected verb also resembles the noun in that of the affirmative particle la- may be added to it, as in:

- (20) inna zaydan la-qā'imun
'Zayd is indeed standing'

- (21) inna zaydan la-yaqūmu
'Zayd is indeed standing'

Therefore, if the verb did not resemble the noun it would not be inflected.

On the other hand, the grammarians justify the fact that nouns are inflected by arguing that nouns have only one form, whereas they have various positions. For example:

- (22) jā'a zaydun 'Zayd came'
(nom)

- (23) ra'aytu zaydan 'I saw Zayd'
(acc)

- (24) akhadhtu kitaba zaydin 'I took Zayd's book'
(gen)

Thus, Zayd in the above sentences is a subject, an object, and in a possessive construction respectively; so there is a need to decline them to show these various positions. Therefore, if the verb did not resemble the noun, it would not be inflected.

c. Ibn Maḍā?'s Views on the Above Arguments

Ibn Maḍā' (p. 131) criticizes the above arguments by stating the following:

- (1) The obligatory reason which makes the noun inflected also exists in the verb because if we say:

- (25)* ḍaraba zaydun ʿamrun
hit Zayd Amr
(nom) (nom)

- (26) *daraba zaydan Camran
(acc) (acc)

we would not be able to tell the subject from the object.

The same thing would be true if we say:

- (27a) lā yadrib zaydun ^Camran 'May Zayd not hit Amr'
not he hit Zayd Amr
(juss) (nom) (acc)

- (27b) lā yadribu zaydun ^Camran
not hits Zayd Amr
(ind) (nom) (acc)

'Zayd does not hit Amr'

Without the indicative and the jussive mood distinction we would not know the simple negative from the negative imperative.

The same would be true if we said:

- (28a) lā taʔkul al-samaka wa-tashrabu 'al-labana
not eat the fish and drink milk
(juss) (acc) (ind) (acc)

'Do not eat fish, but drink milk!'

- (28b) lā taʔkul al-samaka wa-tashraba al-labana
(subj)

'Do not eat fish and drink milk (at the same time)'

- (28c) lā taʔkul al-samaka wa-tashrab al-labana
(juss)

'Do not eat fish and do not drink milk either!'

Without the indicative, the subjunctive, and the jussive moods one could not distinguish the various injunctions given in 28 a_b_c. Therefore, verbs have different usages; they may be negative, affirmative, negative imperative, affirmative imperative, conditional, the result of a conditional predicate complement, and the

object of an interrogative. So, the need for verbal inflections is like that of the noun. If this is the case, then there is no justification for the grammarians' consideration that inflections in nouns are primary, but in verbs are secondary.

(2) Ibn Maḍā? (p. 131) uses the grammarians' regulations in making judgements to criticize them as he states: the elements of analogy are (a) maḡisun ^Calayhi or aṣl 'primary' whose ḥukm 'province' is known; (b) maḡisun or far^C 'derivative' whose province is not known; (3) a motive in the primary must be present in the derivative. Now, for the inflected verbs, Ibn Maḍā? asserts that the reason which makes them inflected is known; it is not because they resemble nouns; on the contrary, because they themselves need inflection. So, the elements of analogy are not met.

(3) The grammarians do not only liken verbs to nouns, but they sometimes liken nouns to verbs. They justify, for instance, the governance of nouns by stating that they resemble verbs (Ibn Maḍā?, p. 131). They also compare diptote nouns and verbs. They state that diptote nouns are furū^C 'derivatives' of verbs and verbs are furū^C 'derivatives' of triptote nouns.⁴⁸ Ibn Maḍā? (p. 132) adds that there are many other ways of comparisons and contrasts between nouns and verbs, but we cannot consider these similarities or differences as ^Cilal for inflections. As a result of all this discussion, it is

sufficient to present the primary reason which is in this case:

kullu fi^Clin fī awwalihi ihdā al-zawā?idi al-arba^Ci wa-lam yattaşil bihi ḡamīru jamā^Cati al-nisā?i wa-lā al-nūnu al-khafīfatu wa-lā al-shadīdatu fa-innahu mu^Crabun (Ibn Maḡā?, p. 130)

'Every verb which has one of the four pronoun prefixes at its beginning, and which does not have the pronoun suffix of the feminine plural nor the heavy n or the light n, is inflected.'

3. The Absolutely Fallacious Reasons

To explain the reason which makes him call for abolishing of this type of ḡilal, Ibn Maḡā? quotes the following argument by al-Mubarrid:

inna nūna ḡamīri jamā^Cati al-mu?annathi ḡurrika li-anna mā qablahu sākinun, naḡwa: ḡarabna wa-yadribna (Ibn Maḡā?, p. 133).

'The n of the feminine plural is vowelled because it is preceded by a non-vowelled consonant, for example: ḡarabna 'they (f.pl.) hit (past)' and yadribna 'they (f.pl.) hit (present).'

Ibn Maḡā? (p. 133) states that al-Mubarrid thereby causes a reason to be its own effect (of that for which it had been the reason) when he (al-Mubarrid) states earlier:

innamā uskinat li?allā yajtami^Ca arba^Cu mutaharrikātin, li-anna al-fi^Cla wa-al-fā^Cila ka-al-shay?i al-wāḡidi

'The (final radical of the verb) is unvowelled in order that four vowelled letters not occur together, because the verb and its subject are a single unit.'

Thus, al-Mubarrid argues that the letter which precedes the n is unvowelled because the n is vowelled, and the n is vowelled because the previous letter is

unvowelled. This cycle in ta^clīl prompts Ibn Maḍā? to call for the abolition of this type of fallacious reasons.

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 133) adds that the grammarians' books are full of this kind of ta^clīl; not only that, but there are grammarians who are devoted to secondary reasons and think that the inventing of cīlāl is a magnificent accomplishment. Ibn Maḍā? names in particular al-A^clam al-Shantamarī⁴⁹ and al-Suhaylī⁵⁰ as interested in secondary reasons.

To conclude this section, I shall summarize Ibn Maḍā?'s views of the cīlāl as follows:

(1) The primary reasons are necessary for a learner of Arabic; therefore, a grammarian should present them in explaining the grammatical phenomenon.

(2) There are some convincing secondary reasons, but a learner of Arabic does not lose anything if he does not know them.

(3) The fallacious secondary and tertiary reasons should be abolished from Arabic grammar as they are useless.

(4) The secondary and tertiary reasons are not invented from the language itself but from outside the texts.

(5) The secondary and tertiary reasons are sometimes cyclic, as when a grammarian makes the reason an effect at the same time, i.e., cīllāh 'reason' and ma^clūl 'affected.'

'affected.'

(6) The text should be analyzed without adding anything from outside. However, the secondary and tertiary reasons are not purely grammatical.

(7) Therefore, we must abolish these types of ʿilāl which are superficial ones.

IV. Ibn Maḍāʾ's Criticism of Made-Up Examples

The examples which Ibn Maḍāʾ criticizes are not those which exist in the Arabic texts, nor the ones which can be made according to the way Arabs speak in terms of analogy. On the contrary, he criticizes al-tamārīn ghayri al-ʿamaliyyah 'the impractical drills' which are made by means of analogy without actually existing in any of the Arabic texts.

If we examine the grammarians' books we will find ample examples of the made-up examples which are invented by means of analogy, despite the fact that they are not according to the way Arabs speak. Al-Khalīl, for instance, was the first grammarian to have used this type of example for the purpose of explaining his ideas. Most of his examples were to illustrate some morphological rules in Arabic. Below are some quotations from al-kitāb which show al-Khalīl's made-up examples:⁵¹

wa-in sammayta imraʾatan bi-qadam fa-jamaʿta bi-al-tāʾi qulta: qadamāt kamā taqūlu hindāt wa-jamalāt (Sībawayhi, 3:397).

'And if you name a woman qadam "foot" then the plural would be qadamāt (f.pl.) by adding at as in hindāt "the Hinds" and jamalāt "the Jamilas"'

wa-in sammayta rajulan bi-aḥmar fa-in shiʔta qulta aḥmarūn. wa-in sammayta imraʔatan bi-aḥmar fa-in shiʔta qulta aḥmarāt (Ibid., 3:398).

'And if you call a man aḥmar 'Aḥmar' ("red"), then if you wish the plural would be aḥmarūn (m.pl.) 'the Aḥmars.' And if you call a woman aḥmar 'Aḥmar,' then you would say for the plural aḥmarāt 'the Aḥmars.'

wa-law sammayta rajulan aw imraʔatan bi-sanah la-kunta bi-al-khiyārī, in shiʔta qulta: sanawāt wa-in shiʔta qulta sinūn (Ibid., 3:399).

'And if you name a man or a woman sanatun 'year,' then you would have an option in the plural form as you could say sanawāt (f.pl.) 'years' or sinūn (m.pl.).'

There are many other examples like the ones above in Sībawayhi's book as Sībawayhi follows his teacher's methodology and approach. These analogical made-up examples are called by some modern Arab grammarians⁵² qiyāsu al-tamthīl 'analogical examples.' As just one example of Sībawayhi's theoretical examples:

wa-in sammayta rajulan ḍarabū fī-man qāla: aklūnī al-barāghīthu qulta: hādhā ḍarabūna qad aqbala, tulḥiqu al-nūna ka-mā tulḥiquhā fī ulī law sammayta bi-hā rajulan min qawlihi ʿazza wa-jalla: ulī ajniḥatin. wa-man qāla: hādhā muslimūna fī ismi rajulin qāla: hādhā ḍarabūna, wa-raʔaytu ḍarabīna. wa-kadhālika yaḍribūna fī hādhā al-qawli.

'And if you name a man Ḍarabū ("they hit") according to the language of Akalūnī al-Barāghīth ("the flea ate me") you would say: "This is Ḍarabūna." ("This is They-Hit"), he has come, you add the suffix n just like you do in "Uli" ("with") by which if you name someone as in the Qurʾānic verse "ulī ajniḥa" ("with wings"). And if one said: Hādhā Muslimūna ("This is Muslims") as a name of a man, he would say: Hādhā Ḍarabūna ("This is They-Hit") (nom.), and I saw Ḍarabīna (acc.). The same thing can be said about yaḍribūna ("They-Hit") (ind.).'

Because Ibn Maḍā? believes in the importance of practical examples and because he thinks that grammar is an instrument for learning the language in question, he rejects all such impractical examples and calls for abolishing them from the grammar (Ibn Maḍā?, p. 135).

Ibn Maḍā? (p. 135-137) discusses one typical instance of the way the grammarians make up these examples, namely when they say ibni min kadhā mithāla kadhā 'Form this according to that.' Thus, they form examples according to the forms of Arabic, but indeed these new constructions are not from the actual usage of Arabic. Ibn Maḍā? gives several examples of this type with the following discussion:

wa-mimmā yanbaghī an yasqūṭa min al-naḥwi "ibni min kadhā mithāla kadhā" ka-qawlihim: "ibni min al-bay^Ci mithāla fu^Cul; fa-yaqūla qā?ilun "bū^C" aṣluhu "bī^C" fa-yadulla min al-yā?i wāwan li-ndimāmi mā qablahā li?anna al-nuṭqa bihā thaqīlun kamā qālat l-^Carabu: "mūqinun" wa-"mūsinun" aṣlu "mūqin": "mīqin," li?annahu ismu fā^Cil, wa-fi^Cluhu "ayqana," fa-fā?u al-fi^Cli minhu yā?un. wa-kadhālika yanbaghī an yakūna ismu al-fā^Cili minhu fā?uhu yā?un ka-mā anna "akrama" ismu l-fā^Cili minhu: "mukrim," fa-fā?u al-fi^Cli wa-hiya al-kāfu hiya fā?u ismi al-fā^Cili fī "mukrim." wa-kadhālika kullu ismi fā^Cilin ṣaḥīhin fā?uhu fā?u fi^Clihi, wa-^Caynuhu ^Caynuhu, wa-lāmuhu lāmuhu. wa-taqūla fī jam^Ci "mūsirin": "mayāsīr," wa-fi^C taṣghirihi "muyaysir," lammā zālat ^Cillatu ibdāli al-yā?i wāwan wa-hiya sukūnuhā wa-ndimāmu mā qablahā raja^C ilā aṣlihi wa-min qā?īlin: "bī^C"-bi-al-kasri-kasara al-bā?a li-taṣiḥḥa al-yā?u, ka-mā qālat al-^Carabu "biyḍ," wa-"^Cin," wa-"ghid" fī jam^Ci bayḍā?, wa-^Caynā?, wa-ghayḍā? wa-kadhālika al-mudhakkaru, li?anna "fa^Clā?" yujma^Cu ^Calā "fu^Cl", ka-"ḥamrā?" wa-"ḥumr" wa-"shaqrā?" wa-"shuqr". wa-al-ḡiyāsu an yuqāla "buyd," wa-"ghuyd," wa-"^Cuyn" lākinnaḥum ^Cadalū ilā al-kasri li-?allā yubdilū mina l-yā?i wāwan (Ibn Maḍā?,

p. 135).

Among the exercises which must be abolished from Arabic grammar is "Form this according to that," such as when they (the grammarians) say "Build on the word bay^C on the pattern of fu^Cl." So someone says bū^C, whose original is buy^C. The y becomes w through uniting with what precedes it (i.e., u), since it is difficult to pronounce a wesward just as the Arabs say mūgin 'convinced' and mūsir 'prosperous.' The origin of mūgin is muygin because it is an active participle from the verb aygana 'to be convinced.' The first radical of the verb is y, therefore, the first radical of its active participle should likewise be y, just as the active participle of the verb akrama 'to honor' is mukrim 'honoring.' The first radical letter of the verb, the k, is also the first radical letter of the active participle mukrim. The same thing can be applied to all sound active participles; the first radical is the first radical of the verb, the second is the same, and the third is the same. When forming the plural of mūsir you say mavāsir and its diminutive is muyaysir because the cause for changing the y to a w, namely its being unvowelled and being combined with what precedes it, it returns to (i.e., "manifests") its original radical.

If someone says bī^C has added i to the b so that the y will not be changed, just like the Arabs said biḍ 'white' (pl.), ḥīn 'black pupils of the eye,' and ghīd 'young' (pl.) for the plurals of baydā?, ḥaynā?, and ghaydā? and also the masculine because the plural of fa^Calā? is fu^Cl as in: ḥamrā? 'red' (f.) and ḥumr 'red' (pl.), shaqrā? 'blonde' (f.) and shuqr 'blonde' (pl.). By means of analogy, one should say *buyd, *ghuyd, and *ḥuyn, but the Arabs changed uy to i in order not to change the y to a w.

Then Ibn Maḍā? (p. 136) presents arguments for each of his opinions--that is, which is more correct according to the pattern fu^Cl, the form bū^C or bī^C. After he finishes both arguments, Ibn Maḍā? (p. 137) states that all of this argument is about one single problem, so how will it be if all issues of this kind are increased?

Conflict will be extended, and a lot of arguments will appear with no need to do so. Ibn Maḍāʾ adds that people are unable to recognize the true classical language, so how can they memorize these needless and impractical exercises?

In general, Ibn Maḍāʾ calls for abolishing from grammar all kinds of arguments over issues which do not help in speaking or in mastering the language.

V. Evaluation of Ibn Maḍāʾ' s Views of the ʿĪlāl and Made-Up Examples

Tammām Ḥassān (1958:10-11) distinguishes between two positions which can be taken by a human toward a language, namely, the speaker's position and the researcher's position. The first tries to follow the rules of the language which he has inherited and learned; the second, however, describes the language in the way he describes other social phenomena. In this sense, I agree with Ḥassān's claim that the grammarians' approach is aimed at inventing rules for speakers to follow, but I think that was neither the case in all phases of the development of Arabic grammar nor was it the aim of every grammarian. This means that grammarians like al-Jurjānī,⁵³ who invented the theory of naẓm 'discourse arrangement,' and Ibn Maḍāʾ, who called for the abolishing of the theory of the ʿĀmil and the secondary and tertiary reasons and all other related notions, can be excluded from that generalization.

In order to clarify the importance of Ibn Maḍā's views in the study of Arabic grammar on the one hand, and their values in the light of modern linguistic theory on the other, I will discuss first the originality of Ibn Maḍā's views, then I will point out the most positive points of his ideas⁵⁴ which are similar in some ways to those of modern western linguistic approaches.

A. The Originality of Ibn Maḍā's Views

The first thing which one might investigate on evaluating the efforts of a scholar is that scholar's originality and creativity. As far as Ibn Maḍā's views are concerned, I can safely claim that: (1) he is the first grammarian to publicly criticize the theory of the ʿāmil, taqdīr, and their related notions;⁵⁵ (2) he is among the first group of grammarians to propose studying the Arabic language without the notions of regency and taqdīr;⁵⁶ al-Jurjānī's theory of naẓm was the first serious attempt in this regard; (3) he is among the first group of grammarians to criticize the made-up examples which do not exist in reality; (4) he is the first to put all of his criticisms in a book which is especially written for this purpose; (5) but, he is not the first to criticize the concept of ʿilāl. On the contrary, he is affected directly by the views of Ibn Ḥazm who adopted the ṣāhirite's principles of Islamic Law.

Regarding Ibn Ḥazm's influence on Ibn Maḍā's views, one can find some similar ideas of Ibn Ḥazm's regarding

the Cilal as he states, "An example of fallacious analogy is the grammarians' usage of their reasons, all of which are fallacious and do not contain a single element of truth."⁵⁷ This similarity is justified by the fact that both Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Maḍāʾ are from the Zāhirite school. So, the similarity is expected. But this does not mean that Ibn Maḍāʾ was just a copier of Ibn Ḥazm's; on the contrary, there are other differences between them. For example, Ibn Ḥazm criticizes the whole concept of Cilal from both Islamic law and Arabic grammar, while Ibn Maḍāʾ criticizes only the secondary and tertiary reasons to be used in Arabic grammar. In addition to that, Ibn Ḥazm criticizes the practice of analogy⁵⁸ by the legal Islamic schools and by the grammarians as well, whereas Ibn Maḍāʾ does not criticize the principle of analogy in grammar. What he does criticize is the practice of fabricating utterances which are not used in the actual speech of Arabic.

In his paper (1985, forthcoming)⁵⁹, Professor Raji Rammuny states:

"Another group of Arab grammarians and scholars from the fifth/eleventh century up to the present day, like al-Jurjānī, have expressed dissatisfaction with the notions of Cilla (cause), Cāmil (regent), taʾwīl (philosophical interpretation), and tagdīr (implication of unstated parts of a sentence). For example, Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī..."

One may hypothesize that Ibn Maḍāʾ is affected by al-Jurjānī (1960, 1969) since al-Jurjānī is believed by

Professor Raji Rammuny to have expressed dissatisfaction with the notion of ḥilāl and philosophical interpretation. To prove the hypothesis, we have to prove the assumption that al-Jurjānī is not satisfied with the grammarians' approach, then to point out the similarities or the differences between al-Jurjānī and Ibn Maḍā? regarding this aspect.

Rammuny cites several quotations from al-Jurjānī to illustrate his theory of naẓm 'discourse arrangement,' among them the following quotation on which Rammuny depends to indicate al-Jurjānī's dissatisfaction of the ḥilāl and other philosophical interpretation:

wa-ammā al-naḥwu fa-ẓannathu ǧarban min al-takallufi wa-bāban min al-ta^ḥassufi wa-shayʿan lā yastanidu ilā aṣlin wa-lā yu^ḥtamadu fīhi ^ḥalā ^ḥaqlin wa-inna mā zāda minhu ^ḥalā ma^ḥrifatī al-ra^ḥfī wa-al-naṣbi wa-mā yattaṣilu bi-dhālika mimma tajiduhu fī al-mabādiʿi fa-huwa faḍlun lā yujdi naf^ḥan, wa-lā taḥṣulu minhu ^ḥalā fāʿidatin (al-Jurjānī, 1960:22).

As for grammar, they considered it a kind of mannerism, a linguistic arbitrariness, something that has no base and does not depend on thought. As for the understanding that one might develop of the nominative and accusative cases other such rudiments, it is superfluity that is of no use or benefit to one. (Rammuny, 1985, forthcoming).

In Dalāʾil al-I^ḥjāz (1960:36-37) al-Jurjānī defends the science of grammar and emphasizes the importance of i^ḥrāb 'inflections' in recognizing the meanings of utterances. He says:

wa-ammā zuḥduhum fī al-naḥwi wa-iḥtiqāruhum lahu, wa-isghāruhum amrahu, wa-tahāwunuhum bihi, fa-ṣanī^ḥuhum fī dhālika ashna^ḥu min ṣanī^ḥihi fī alladhī taqaddama wa-ashbahu bi-an yakūna ṣaddan

Can kitābi allāhi wa-Can maCrifati maCānihi,
dhāka li-annahum lā yajidūna buddan min an
yaCtarifu bi-al-hājati ilayhi fihi idh kāna qad
Culima anna al-aīfāza mughlaqatun Calā maCānihā,
ḥattā yakūna al-iCrābu huwa alladhī yaftaḥuhā,
wa-anna al-aghrāḍa kāminatun fiḥā ḥattā yakūna
huwa al-mustakhriju lahā, wa-annahū al-miCyāru
alladhī lā yutabayyanu nuqṣānu kalāmin wa-
rujḥānuhu ḥattā yuCrāḍa Calayhi, wa-al-miqyāsu
alladhī lā yuCrāfu ṣaḥīhun min saqimin ḥattā
yurjaCa ilayhi, wa-lā yunkiru dhālika illā man
yunkiru ḥissahu, wa-illā man ghālaṭa fī al-
ḥaqā?iqi nafsahu. wa-idhā kāna al-amru kadhālika
fa-layta shiCrī mā Cudhru man tahāwana bi-hi wa-
zahida fihi wa-lam yara an yastasqiyahu min
maṣabbihi, wa-ya?khudhahu min maCdanihi, wa-
radiya li-nafsihi bi-al-naqṣi wa-al-kamālu lahā
muCrāḍun, wa-?athāra al-ghabinata wa-huwa yajidu
ilā al-ribḥi sabīlā.

As for their (critics) abandon of grammar, their contempt, their disregard, and their carelessness; what they have done in this regard is uglier from that which preceeded (their abandon of poems); it is likely to be a preventing from the book of God and recognizing its meaning because they must admit that it is (grammar) very necessary for understanding it (the Qur?ān); it has been stated before that utterances are ambiguous until inflections clarify them, the purposes are hidden until they (inflections) demonstrate them. Indeed, they (inflections) are the measurement without which neither an incomplete utterance nor an uncertain one is clarified until it is judged according to it (iCrāb) 'inflections'; also by which correct and incorrect utterances can be recognized. No one can deny this fact except he who denies his feelings and contradicts himself. If this is the case, I wish I knew the excuse of one who disregarded and abandoned it (grammar). He did not get the knowledge of it from its origin, and did not adopt it from its source; on the contrary, he is satisfied with the imperfectness while the perfectness for his soul is offered and he preferred the loss while the road to success is available.

In the following quotation, however, we see al-Jurjānī accepting the argument of the critics with regard to the made-up examples. He says:

fa-in qālū: innā lam naʿba ṣiḥḥata hādhā al-
 ʿilmi, wa-lam nunkir makāna al-ḥājati ilayhi fī
 maʿrifati kitābi allāhi taʿālā, wa-innamā ankarnā
 ašhyāʾa kaththartumūhu bi-hā, wa-fuḍūla qawlin
 takallāftumūhā, wa-masāʾila ʿawīṣatin
 tajashshamtum al-fikra fīhā, thumma lam taḥsulū
 ʿalā shayʾin akthara min an taḥrubū ʿalā al-
 sāmiʿīna wa-tuʿāyū bi-hā al-ḥādirīna, qīla lahum:
 khabbirunā ʿammā zaʿamtum annahu fuḍūlu qawlin
 wa-ʿawīṣin lā yaʿūdu bi-tāʾilin, mā huwa? fa-in
 badaʾū fa-dhakarū masāʾila al-taṣrīfi allatī
 yaḍaʿuhā al-naḥwiyyūna li-al-riyāḍati wa-li-
 ḍarbin min tamkīni al-maqāyīsī fī al-nufūsi ka-
 qawlihim kayfa tabnī min kadhā kadhā? wa-ka-
 qawlihim mā waznu kadhā?...wa-ashbāhu dhālika wa-
 qālū a-tashukkūna anna dhālika lā yujdī illā
 kadda al-fikri wa-idāʿata al-waḳti? qulnā lahum:
 ammā hādhā al-jinsu fa-lasnā nuʿibukum in lam
 tanẓurū fīhi wa-lam tuʿnaw bi-hi, wa-laysa
 yahūmmunā amruhu, fa-qūlū fīhi mā shiʾtum, wa-
 ḍaʿūhu ḥaythu aradtum.

. If they said: We do not refute the correctness of this science (grammar) nor do we deny its importance to understand the book of God; on the contrary, we deny things that you (grammarians) increased in it (grammar), and superfluous utterances you (grammarians) added (without basis), and difficult problems you employed the mind to think of; all of this without any benefits except for demonstrating strange thing to listeners and giving a hard time to attendants. They would be responded: Tell us about what you claim that is superfluous utterance, and that is useless. What is it? If they started by mentioning the morphological examples which are stated by the grammarians for a purpose of practicing and in order to master the patterns in their minds like their questions: How do you build this from that? And their question: What is the pattern of this?...and the alike; and if they added: Do you doubt that this kind does not have any benefits except offering an additional effort on our mind and wasting our time?

We would say to them: As for this type of discussion, we do not blame you if you do not recognize it. Nor are you interested in it. Further, we are not interested in it either, then say about it whatever you want and put it where you want.

Then, al-Jurjānī presents their argument regarding the Cilal and how they do not agree with the grammarians in this aspect:

fa-in tarakū dhālika wa-tajāwazūhu ilā al-kalāmi
 Calā aghrādi wādi^{Ci} allughati, wa-Calā wajhi al-
 hikmati fī al-wādi^{Ci}, wa-taqriri al-maqāyisi
 allati iṭṭaradat Calayhā, wa-dhikri al-Cilali
 allatī iṭṭaḍat an tajriya Calā mā ujriyat
 Calayhi, ka-al-qawli fī al-mu^Ctalli wa-fima
 yalḥaqu al-ḥurūfa al-ththalāthata allatī hiya al-
 wāwu wa-al-yā?u wa-al-alifu min al-taghayyuri bi-
 al-ibdāli wa-al-hadhfi wa-al-iskāni, aw ka-
 kalāminā mathalan Calā al-tathniyati wa-jam^{Ci} al-
 salāmāti, lima kāna i^Crābuhā Calā ikhtilāfi
 i^Crābi al-wāḥidi? wa-lima tabi^{Ca} al-naṣbu al-
 jarra wa-fi al-nūni: innahu Ciwadun Can al-
 ḥarakati wa-al-tanwīni fī ḥāl, wa-Can al-ḥarakati
 waḥdahā fī ḥāl? wa-al-kalāmu Calā mā yaṣarifu
 wa-mā lā yaṣarifu wa-lima kāna man^{Cu} al-ṣarfi?
 wa-bayānu al-Cillati fīhi wa-al-qawlu Calā al-
 asbābi al-tis^Cati, wa-annahā kulluhā thawānin li-
 uṣūlin, wa-annahū idhā ḥaṣala minhā ithnāni fī
 ismin aw takarrara sababun ṣāra bi-dhālika
 thāniyan min jihatayni, wa-idhā ṣāra kadhālika
 ashbaha al-fi^Cla li-anna al-fi^Cla thānin li-al-
 ismi, wa-al-ismu al-muqaddamu wa-al-awwalu wa-
 kullu mā jarā ḥadhā al-majrā qulnā: innā naskutu
 Cankum fī ḥadhā al-darbi ayḍan wa-na^Cdhurukum
 fīhi wa-nusāmihukum Calā Cilmīn minnā bi-an qad
 aṣa?tum al-ikhtiyāra wa-mana^Ctum anfusakum mā
 fīhi al-ḥaṣṣu la-kum wa-mana^Ctumūhā al-iṭṭilā^{Ca}
 Calā madāriji al-hikmati wa-Calā al-Culūmi al-
 jammati fa-da^{Cū} dhālika wa-unzurū fī alladhī
 i^Ctaraftum bi-ṣiḥḥatihi wa-bi-al-ḥājati ilayhi,
 hal ḥaṣṣaltumūhu Calā wajhihi? wā-hal aḥaṭṭum
 bi-ḥaqā?iqihi...(al-Jurjānī, 1960:36-37).

If they left that (made-up examples) and went beyond it to argue about the purposes of the founder of the language, the wisdom of the variations, the affirmations of the patterns on which (the language) is standardized, and the mention of the reasons/motives according to which it (language) is built; such as: the argument about the weak (words) and regarding the changes of the three letters: u, i, and a; as they may be substituted or deleted, or their argument about the dual and the sound plural: Why are they inflected by markers other than that of singular words? Why are their accusative markers

similar to that of their genitive ones? As for their suffix n; Why is it sometimes substituting the case marker and the nunation, while in other times substituting only the case marker? Also their argument about declinable and indeclinable words; Why is their an indeclinable? What is the cause of indeclinable? Also the argument about the nine reasons; the claim that if two of them are met in a noun or if one of them is repeated, then it will resemble the verb because the verb is secondary while the noun is primary and alike issues and arguments. Then we would respond: We say nothing about you regarding this aspect either, we excuse you, and forgive you; despite the fact that we believe that you did not make a right choice, you prevented yourself from what might have a fortune to you; as you prevented yourself from recognizing the paths to wisdom and to all sciences. Therefore, leave this (aspect) and recognize the thing (aspect) which you are convinced of its correctness and its need. Did you learn it according to the way it should be learned? Did you completely recognize its reality?...

Although al-Jurjānī does not launch a direct attack on his fellow grammarians like Ibn Maḍāʾī, he nevertheless shows dissatisfaction with their practice of made-up examples and directs attention to other important grammatical topics to be discussed and pointed out. Thus, he makes a very great contribution to the study of Arabic grammar with the introduction of his theory of naẓm, which does not contradict ancient grammarians' principles but rather calls for the study of language on the basis of syntactic and semantic interrelationships as Professor Rammuny pointed out.

B. Further Positive Points of Ibn Maḍāʾī's Views

In addition to the preceding discussion of Ibn Maḍāʾī's ideas, I shall point out the most valuable points

of his criticism, providing the modern linguist's ideas wherever appropriate.

1. Ibn Maḍā? does not want grammarians to invent rules and make their rules control Arabic texts. Neither does he want them always to try to find reasons for the reasons themselves. This simply agrees with the *ẓāhirite* principles which call for describing the texts and not prescribing correct and incorrect. They call, further, for not seeking motives for every phenomenon whether it is clear or not.

2. As far as prescriptive and descriptive grammar is concerned, we find that a modern western linguist like Lyons (1979:43) believes that "linguistics is descriptive, not prescriptive." He makes his point clearly when he states that "the linguist's first task is to describe the way people actually speak and write their language, not to prescribe how they ought to speak and wrote."

3. Another important point which Ibn Maḍā? has made is that any words which might be invented through analogy and are not used in the actual speech of the Arabs must be rejected. Thus, the language which should be described and analyzed is that of the people, not a theoretical or abstract one.

4. Lyons (1979:38) also emphasizes the importance of the spoken language for a linguist to describe. He does not mean, of course, that the literary language is not material for the linguist; on the contrary, he aims at

pointing out that no particular form of the literary language is purer or more correct than all other forms of the language. But the spoken language is primary and should be taken into consideration by a linguist.

Moreover, Ibn Maḍāʾ distinguishes between the principles of Islamic law and the principles of grammar. This is despite the fact that most Arab grammarians⁶⁰ mix the two together. Ibn Maḍāʾ does so because he believes that Islamic laws are prescribed by the lawgiver, and so they should be accepted completely. The principles of Arabic grammar, however, are invented by the grammarians and, therefore, adopting them is not obligatory.

6. Instead of the logical justifications which are made by the grammarians, in explaining the grammatical phenomenon, Ibn Maḍāʾ suggests that the explanation should be made by pointing out the function of the construction in the utterance. This primary reason or justification is very necessary for a learner of Arabic. However, all other types of reasons should be abolished.

7. As far as easing the learning of Arabic grammar is concerned, Ibn Maḍāʾ calls for abolishing all kinds of disputes among the grammarians which are made-over, unnecessary topics and useless discussions for learners of Arabic.

8. If we add to the above points that several modern Arab grammarians⁶¹ have started calling for, what Ibn Maḍā? called for eight hundred years ago, we can see exactly how important Ibn Maḍā?'s views are.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. Our information about the Islamic legal schools is mainly from Goldziher, The Zāhirīs, translated by Wolfgang Behn, Leiden, 1971.
2. Kojiro Nakamura, "Ibn Maḍā's Criticism of Arabic Grammarians." Orient, 10(1974), p. 93.
3. Abū Yūsuf was an early representative of the Ḥanafite school. This is why most of the procedures of this school go back to him, as he was a student of Abū Ḥanīfah. On the quoted text, see Kojiro Nakamura, 1974:95.
4. Ibid., note 36, p. 112.
5. That is, "seeking for a link to something which is known and certain." It means: when it is not ascertainable that the conditions under which a certain rule is applicable have changed, the rule remains valid as if the conditions had not changed." See Kojiro Nakamura, 1974, note 37, p. 112.
6. This is Ibn Ḥazm's opinion. He was one of the famous Zāhirites who adopted Dāwūd's principles and wrote several books explaining the principles of the Zāhirite school. On his opinion of ta^Clīl, see Sa^Cid al-Afghānī, nazarat fī al-luḡha Cinda Ibn Ḥazm, 1973: 45-46.
7. Goldziher illustrates these categories in more detail. See his book, p. 63-76.
8. Abū Su^Cūd cites the following tradition in support of this interpretation of the fugahā?, "Whoever does ablution while in the status of purity, God will write ten rewards for him." This statement shows that the repeated ablution is not obligatory but recommended in the status of purity. See Goldziher, note 2, p. 46.
9. It is to be noted that the meaning of the particle idhā causes the difference in their interpretations. The orthodox schools state that idhā has no general validity, while the Zāhirites believe that it does. On these differences, see Goldziher, p. 48-50.
10. Goldziher quotes traditions which support the orthodox school's interpretation. Ibid., p. 70-71.

11. This tradition is reported by both al-Bukhārī, al-Ṣaḥīḥ, under kitāb al-jumu'ah, no. 2 and by Muslem, al-Ṣaḥīḥ, under bāb al-jumu'ah, no. 405.
12. See Ibn Ḥazm, ibtāl al-qiya's, 1960:23-27, also Sa'īd al-Afghānī, naẓarāt fi al-luḡha Cinda Ibn Ḥazm, 1973: 31-34.
13. This example is in both Goldziher, 1971:40 and Kojiro Nakamura, 1974:96.
14. al-Nawawī, minhāj al-ṭālibīn, 1879, 2:530.
15. At the beginning of his book, Ibn al-Anbārī says, "Know that the principles of grammar are the adillah 'examples' or 'arguments' from which its primary and secondary topics came, exactly like the principles of jurisprudence from which came its primary and secondary topics." See Ibn al-Anbārī, 1963, luma' al-adillah fi uṣūl al-naḥw, p. 27.
16. See Ibn al-Anbārī, 1963:27, al-insāf, problems no. 40, 1:298 and no. 104, 2:722, al-Suyūṭī, al-iqtirāḥ fi 'ilm uṣūl al-naḥw, 1947, and Part III. Section C. in Chapter Two of this dissertation.
17. Modern authors who claim this are: Shawqī Ḍayf, 1947: 37 and Kojiro Nakamura, 1974 : 107.
18. I depend in this classification on al-Zajjājī, who died 337/948, in his book al-idāḥ fi 'ilāl al-naḥw, edited by Māzin al-Mubārak, 1982 : 64.
19. Ibid., p. 97.
20. For more examples, see the following pages of al-kitāb, 1:51, 98, 107, 2:202, 290.
21. On the Greek influence of Arabic grammar, see Versteegh, Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking, Leiden, 1977. Also his, "The origin of the term qiya's in Arabic grammar," Journal of Arabic Linguistics, 4(1980), p. 7-30.
22. On the differences between al-Khalīl's idea and other grammarians' on this topic, see al-insāf, problem no. 116, 2:805.
23. See Carter, A Study of Sibawayhi's Principles of Grammatical Analysis. A Ph.D. unpublished thesis, Oxford, 1968, p. 256.

24. For more examples of this motive, see the following pages of al-kitāb, 1:99, 109, 110, 117, 2:196, 3:120, 129, 157, 161.
25. See Part III., Chapter Two of this dissertation.
26. Al-Mubarrid's ideas are in his book, al-muqtaḍab, edited by Muḥammad Abdukhāliq ^CUḏaymah, Cairo: Lajnat iḥyā' al-turāth al-Islāmyyī, V1:1965, V2:1966, V3:1966, V4:1968.
27. Ibn al-Sarrāj wrote a book entitled uṣūl al-naḥw. This book is still unpublished and it is in the British museum under number 444. See Tammām Ḥassān, al-Uṣūl, 1981 : 186.
28. Ibn Jinnī is considered from the Baghdādī school. He wrote a famous book entitled al-khaṣā'is which contains his main ideas of Arabic grammar. His book is edited by Muḥammad Ali al-Najjār, Beirut: Dār al-Hudā, 1961. Also by him, Sirr ṣinā'at al-iḥrāb, Cairo, 1954.
29. al-Zamakhsharī, al-mufaṣṣal, Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1323/1904.
30. This is called by Ibn al-Sarrāj, al-uṣūl, 1:37. On this, see Tammām Ḥassān, al-uṣūl, 1981 : 195.
31. This example is from al-Zajjājī, al-idāh fī ḥilāl al-naḥw, 1982 : 64-65.
32. There might be some repetition of some types of ḥilāl, but it is useful to do so in order to refer to them later when we discuss Ibn Maḏā's views of the ḥilāl.
33. Some grammarians call this reason ḥillatu al-naql 'the narration reason.' See Ibn al-Anbārī, luma' al-adillah fī uṣūl al-naḥw, 1963 : 28.
34. On the grammarians' views, see al-insāf, 2:549, problem number 73.
35. Ibid., 2:840, problem number 68.
36. There are other examples of this motive in Section A. of this Chapter. See also al-insāf, 2:782, problem number 112.
37. For more examples of this type, see Ṣābir Bakr Abū al-Suḥūd, al-qiyās fī al-naḥw al-ʿarabī, no date, p. 105-107.

38. See al-inṣāf, 2:650, problem number 94.
39. Ibid., 2:602, problem number 84.
40. Ibid., 1:422, problem number 47.
41. On this motive, see Part II.A. of this Chapter and Sibawayhi, 1:22.
42. See Part II. rules (8)-(10) in Chapter Two of this dissertation.
43. Ibn al-Anbārī, luma^C al-adillah fī usūl al-naḥw, 1963: 54-55. And al-inṣāf, 2:630, problem number 87.
44. al-inṣāf, 2:506, problem number 70 and 2:751, problem number 111.
45. See on both types, Ibn Jinnī, al-khaṣāʾis, 1961, 4:164.
46. Ibn al-Sarrāj calls it ḥillatu al-dalālah. See Tammām Ḥassān, al-uṣūl, 1981 : 204.
47. It is to be noted that this is the grammarians' justification. Thus, Ibn Maḍāʾ tries to prove why their arguments are not convincing.
48. See al-kitāb, 1:2 and al-muqtaḍab, 2:209.
49. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Sulaymān al-Shantamarī, a grammarian from Andalus, he was born 410/1018 in Shantamaria and died 476/1083 in Seville. See al-Suyūṭī, bughyat al-wuḥā, 2:356.
50. Abū al-Qāsim Abdu l-Raḥmān b. Abdallah al-Suhaylī, born 508/1113 in Malīqah and died 581/1184 in Marrakesh. See Al-Bannā's note (3) in al-radd ʿalā al-nuḥā, 1979 : 133.
51. For more examples of this type, see Sibawayhi, 3:397-405.
52. See Ṣāber Bakr Abū al-Suḥūd, al-qiyās fī al-naḥw al-ʿarabī, no date, p. 95-105.

53. In his recent papers, Professor Raji Rammuny analyzes al-Jurjani's theory of naẓm and presents his linguistic views in such a way as to permit a comparison with modern western linguists. See Raji Rammuny, "al-Jurjānī: A Forgotten Pioneer of Grammatical and Linguistic Studies." Historiographica Linguistica, XII:3, 1985 (forthcoming), and his, "The Role of al-Jurjānī's concept of ta^cliq in the Development of Arabic Grammatical Theory and Linguistic Analysis." Volume of Essays in Memory of Ernest Abdel Massih (forthcoming).
54. This evaluation is regarding his criticism of the Cilal and made-up examples. For more details about the values of his methodology and approach, see Part IV of Chapter Four of this dissertation.
55. See his criticism in Part II of Chapter Four in this dissertation.
56. See Ibn Maḍāʾ's application in Part III of Chapter Four in this dissertation.
57. Ibn Ḥazm, al-taḡrīb li-ḥadd al-manṭiq 'The Approximation to the Limit of Logic.' Edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1959, p. 166.
58. Ibid., p. 173 and see also Ibn Ḥazm, mulakhkhaṣ ibṭāl al-qiyās wa-al-raʾy wa-al-istiḥsān wa-al-taqlīd wa-al-ta^clīl 'A Summary of the Abolition of Analogy, Opinion, Preferable, Imitation, and Seek Motives,' Damascus, 1960.
59. On Rammuny's papers, see note 53 above.
60. Ibn al-Anbārī, for example, states that the principles of Arabic grammar are similar to those of Islamic laws. See Ibn al-Anbārī, luma^c al-adilla fī usūl al-nahw. 1963:27.
61. On these attempts, see Part V. of Chapter One and Chapter Six. Also see Rammuny, 1985 (forthcoming).

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The traditional Arab grammarians made great contributions when they studied and analyzed the Arabic language. They noticed some grammatical features of Arabic like: i^crāb 'inflection,' ḥadhf 'deletion,' idmār 'suppression,' and taqdīm wa-ta[?]khīr 'word order.' To explain these phenomena, they adopted some theoretical concepts, such as ʿamal 'regency,' qiyās 'analogy,' taqdīr 'suppletive insertion,' and ta^clīl 'rational justification.'

Then the grammarians discussed the principles of Arabic grammar and linked them with the principles of jurisprudence. Ibn al-Anbārī (1963:27) stated that these principles are: naql 'transmission,' qiyās 'analogy,' and ijmā^c 'unanimous agreement.' If we compare the above principles with those of jurisprudence, we will not find any difference whatsoever (Chapter Five, Part I).

As we have illustrated before (Part II. of Chapter Two), the grammarians of the early stages did not aim at systemizing, harmonizing, or prescribing the Arabic grammatical rules. On the contrary, they aimed at describing and explaining the texts of the Arabic language. After that, al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi were the first grammarians to set up the notions of the key

theoretical principles of Arabic grammar. Then, the grammarians in Baṣra and Kūfa began arguing, justifying, harmonizing, and applying the principles of fiqh 'jurisprudence' and ʿilm al-kalām 'scholastic theology' to the study of Arabic grammar.

All of the above developments took place in the eastern part of the Islamic state. In the western part, however, Ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī developed and expanded Dāwūd's opinions and revolted against the four legal schools. Ibn Maḍāʾī, under the influence of the Ẓāhirites, revolted against the grammarians' practices and criticized them in his book, al-radd ʿalā al-nuḥā 'Response to the Grammarians.' Thus, I claim that there were two parallel approaches in understanding both Islam and Arabic. The first one is represented by the four Islamic legal schools (see Part I. of Chapter Five) and the traditional grammarians of Baṣra and Kūfa (Part II. of Chapter Two). The second one is represented by the Ẓāhirites as an Islamic legal school and Ibn Maḍāʾī al-Qurṭubī as a grammarian (see Part I.B. of Chapter Four).

It is true that the traditional Arab grammarians have done an excellent job in standardizing and reinforcing the use of the literary Arabic language. But, unfortunately, this was on the account of some texts which were neglected or judged as irregular, either because they were not common or they did not meet the conditions which the

Baṣrans and the Kūfans considered as faṣīḥ 'grammatical' (see Parts I. and II. of Chapter Two).

The traditional Arab grammarians tended to assume that the literary language was purer and more correct than all other forms of the language, written or spoken; and that it was the grammarian's task to protect this form of the language from corruption. Ibn Maḍāʾī, however, believed that the grammarian should describe and analyze the texts of a language. In addition to that, the grammarian should respect the reality of people's speech. If, however, analogical reasoning comes up with examples which do not exist in people's usage, they should be neglected and ignored (see Part IV. of Chapter Five).

The question is: Did Ibn Maḍāʾī achieve what he aimed at? Ibn Maḍāʾī's method can be summarized as the abolition of the theory of the ʿāmil, taqdīr, unnecessary ʿilāl, made-up examples, and their related issues. In the application of his theoretical principles, Ibn Maḍāʾī describes the Arabic texts, depends on possible existing examples, does not prescribe the grammatical rules, respects the texts more than the analogical results, and presents a functional relationship between structures in a sentence instead of a regency or a dependency theory of the traditional Arab grammarians. He believes that the grammarian's duty is to describe and analyze utterances and texts at their surface level because, as he states, analyses of the underlying structure, i.e., the practices

of tagdīr, might change the meaning of the structure as intended by the speaker (see Part II.B. of Chapter Four).

Ibn Maḍā? does not apply his theory to all topics of Arabic grammar. His aim is to criticize the grammarians' method of the ʿāmil and tagdīr, to present the basic principles of his theory, and to apply his notion of grammar without regency to some topics of Arabic grammar. I think that Ibn Maḍā? does exactly what he aims at in the introduction of his book (see Part I. of Chapter Four).

Ibn Maḍā? planned to write another book which includes the application of his theory to all topics of Arabic grammar. It is possible that the other books which are reported to have been written, i.e., al-mushriq fī al-naḥw and tanzīh al-Qurʿān ʿammā lā yalīqu min al-bayān, illustrate the application of his approach. It is possible also that he died before he could write such books. So far, there is no existing book of his other than al-radd ʿalā al-nuḥā, which we analyzed and compared with both the grammarians' views and some approaches of modern linguistic analysis.

I can state that Ibn Maḍā? did exactly what he aimed at in the beginning of his book. But why was he neglected and ignored up to recent years? I think this is because of three primary reasons:

1. The traditional Arab grammarians, as well as jurisprudents convinced people that ijmāʿ 'unanimous agreement' and taghlīd 'imitation' are essential concepts

in grammatical analysis. This is why we find that Ibn Maḍāʾ started attacking these concepts before analyzing his theory because he knew that people would not accept his ideas as long as they believed in the principle of ijmāʿ^C; since they were just muqallidīn 'imitators' of the scholars. In fact, this is what happened; they denied his criticism and the ṣāhirite school as well was excluded as an Islamic legal school (Goldziher, 1971:36).

2. The traditional Arab grammarians presented their theoretical notions and applied them to all aspects of Arabic grammar. Ibn Maḍāʾ, however, criticized some practices of the grammarians and presented his own method of grammar without regency. He was not able, of course, to apply his theory to all topics of grammar.

3. Most of the Baṣran and the Kūfan grammarians were very famous and had disciples and successors who either wrote books based on their teachings or taught others using their teachers' views and methods. Ibn Maḍāʾ, however, was fully occupied in his position as a chief judge, and wrote his book when he had become old. He thus did not have an opportunity to acquire disciples and followers to make his book famous like the others.

On the other hand, interest in Ibn Maḍāʾ's book started up recently when Shawqī Dayf first edited his book in 1947, and when modern Arab grammarians felt the necessity of simplifying Arabic grammar. I claim that most modern Arab grammarians who call for the

simplification of Arabic grammar by abolishing the ʿāmil, taqdīr, and ʿilāl are affected by Ibn Maḍāʾī's ideas of some eight hundred years ago (see Part V.B. of Chapter One).

As far as the originality of Ibn Maḍāʾī's views is concerned, I state that the term taʿlīq, which was used by Ibn Maḍāʾī, had been first used by al-Jurjānī when he presented his theory of naẓm (see Rammuny, 1985, forthcoming). However, each one used the term in different contexts (see Part IV.B. of Chapter Four). It is also clear that Ibn Ḥazm called for the abolition of the ʿilāl from both jurisprudence and grammar before Ibn Maḍāʾī did. Ibn Maḍāʾī, however, discusses the types of the ʿilāl which he might accept in grammar and the ones which he opposes. And it is to be pointed out that both were from the same Zāhirite school; therefore, similarity in one or two notions is expected. On the other hand, all other theories and practices which are presented and analyzed in Chapters Four and Five are Ibn Maḍāʾī's and, therefore, he should be given credit for them.

As far as the simplification of Arabic grammar in modern times is concerned, this movement started with voices raised in concern over the rigidity of classical Arabic during the remarkable decades of the twenties. Among these voices were those of Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān, Mikhāʾīl Nuʿaymah, Salāmah Mūsa, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, and Tāha Ḥusayn. But all of these voices were just

complaining and calling on others to investigate the problems of the Arabic language as a whole (see Stetkevych, 1970:79).

The first modern grammarian to have discussed the issue of i^Crāb and accordingly suggested some new proposals to simplify Arabic grammar was Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā in 1937, when he wrote his book iḥyāʾ al-naḥw 'The Revival of Grammar.' In his introduction to the book, Ṭāha Ḥusayn called Muṣṭafā "Sībawayhi al-^Caṣr" 'The Contemporary Sībawayhi.' Many similarities can be found in works of Ibn Maḍāʾ and Muṣṭafā which might indicate that Muṣṭafā either was able to see Ibn Maḍāʾ's book before it was published (see Part V.B. of Chapter One) or have reached the same conclusions independently.

In his article, "Mustaqbal al-Adab al-^CArabī" 'The Future of Arabic Literature' in al-Thaqāfa (1944, 280:6-7), Aḥmad Amīn was concerned because of the difficulty in the spread of the literary language which he related to the phenomenon of i^Crāb. For Amīn the main difference between the colloquial dialects and the classical language is the i^Crāb. Thus, to spread the literary language among low social classes, Amīn proposed the abolishment of inflections and called for an intermediate language between the al-fuṣṣḥā 'standard Arabic' and the ^Cāmmiya 'colloquial.'

Most of the other attempts which are investigated in Chapter One (Part V.B.), except that of al-Makhzūmī (1964,

1966), Ḥassān (1980, 1981), and Rammuny (1980, 1985 forthcoming) either concentrate on the criticism of the concepts of ʿilāl, ʿāmil, and tagdīr or call for the ʿāmmiyya as an alternative to fuṣḥā Arabic. The grammarian's task is, however, not only to criticize other approaches but also to present his own methods and views in a complete methodology for the study of Arabic language.

I claim also that the traditional grammarians' notions and practices are not so useless; they can be compared to modern dependency grammar as we have indicated before (see Part IV.A. of Chapter Four). Ibn Maḍāʾ, on the other hand, not only criticizes, as some modern authors claim (see Albannā's introduction, 1979:45), but on the contrary presents and analyzes a theory which can be likened to modern western structural approach (see Part IV.B-C. of Chapter Four). Thus, if modern Arab grammarians hope to promote theoretical studies of the Arabic language, it is better that they understand the traditional Arab grammarians' methods and views in the light of modern linguistic schools and try to apply these notions and theories to the study of the Arabic language.

As a result of my study of the traditional Arab grammarians' methodologies and practices, Ibn Maḍāʾ's criticism and theory, modern Arab grammarians' attempts, and modern western linguistic approaches, I think that the

simplification of Arabic grammar is not a matter of eliminating iCrāb, nor is it a matter of resorting to the ʿāmmiyya; on the contrary, it is a matter of defining the people for whom you are writing your Arabic grammar, i.e., their level of education, whether they are native speakers of Arabic or not, etc... In addition to that, the grammarian should specify the objectives of his book clearly and understandably. Thus, for a better reform of Arabic grammar I suggest the following:

1. Grammatical terms and categories must be redefined through both a thorough revision of the traditional methodologies and the modern western linguistic schools, e.g., the parts of speech in Arabic should be analyzed according to western methods, i.e., to separate the adjective and the pronoun from the traditional Arabic concept of the noun..

2. If a grammarian does not believe in the regency theory and wishes to apply a structural functional theory, then many topics of grammar should be regrouped according to their function in a sentence and not according to their ʿamal or being governed by other ʿawāmil. For example, all single nouns, phrases, and clauses which might function as an object should be discussed under the heading of object and not be scattered among various subjects as these are in the regency theory.

3. If a grammarian wishes to illustrate the semantic types of sentences, then he must also regroup all sentences which belong to the same semantic field. Accordingly, all negative particles, for example, should be discussed under the heading of negation; this might include particles which govern nouns in the nominative case like mā 'no,' particles which govern nouns in the accusative case like lā 'no,' those which govern imperfect verbs in the subjunctive mood like lan 'will not,' and those which govern imperfect verbs in the jussive mood like lam 'did not.'

4. It is worthwhile to adopt certain approaches from modern western linguistics in analyzing the Arabic language. But the grammarian should specify from the very beginning the principles of the method that he has adopted.

5. The grammarian must respect the data--that is, all extant Arabic texts. Thus, a rule must be posited after complete investigation of the data, i.e., descriptively, and not be making the rule control the text, i.e., prescriptively.

6. All extra ^Cilal in explaining the grammatical rules and features, all hypothetical and mathematical examples which do not exist in reality, and sophisticated rules and illustrations which do not advance the study or teaching of Arabic grammar must be strictly shunned and discarded.

7. In summary, the new Arabic grammar must be plain and simple.

Finally, the investigator suggests the following important topics for further study and research:

1. In view of the great paucity of books and articles comparing and contrasting traditional Arab grammatical theory and western linguistic theories and approaches, the investigator suggests that such in-depth studies be made. Fruitful comparative studies can be made between the ʿamal theory and dependency grammar, tagdīr and underlying structures, and the Ṣāḥirite's method and the surface structuralists'.

Such researches are needed because the investigator notices the difficulties in finding articles and books in the western languages on traditional Arabic grammarians' theory; where people who are interested in Arabic linguistics, from both Arab students and Orientalists, have focused either on writing materials for teaching Arabic as a second language or describing the contemporary Arab dialects. This does not indicate that the above interests are not important, neither does it claim that there are no studies on traditional Arab grammarians; on the contrary, it points out the insufficient studies which have been done in the west about the traditional Arab

grammarians' theory contrasted with the hundreds of articles and books which have been written about the Arabic dialects.

2. Another interesting topic which has not been written about in the west is that of the grammarians' schools. It is known that there are schools of grammar like that of Baṣra, Kūfa, Baghdad, Egypt, and Islamic Spain. An interesting study would be on the sources, principles, methodologies, and the grammarians of each school. I think that such a study will be a primary reference in the future for anyone who is interested in the traditional Arab grammarians' theory.

3. A thorough investigation of the traditional grammatical terms and structures is another interesting topic. The investigator suggests a study on the syntactic and semantic development of the grammarians' terms corresponding to modern western ones. This kind of study would be a basic reference for any researcher of traditional Arab grammarians in the future. So far, there is no such reference except perhaps Wright, which does not detail the way each term was applied by individual grammarians or by different schools.

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